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SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMATIC USE OF SONGS.

In the great majority of Shakespeare's plays there is some singing; and the exceptions are mainly those plays which are at least his, or are least characteristic of his genius. There is, if nothing more, a scrap of a ballad, or a stage direction for a song in every comedy but the *Comedy of Errors*, and in all the tragedies which are associated with the name of Shakespeare but *Titus Andronicus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Coriolanus*, and as I believe, the true text of *Macbeth*,—in a word, the most stern and drastic of the plays. In the historical dramas, being of peculiar genesis and nature, there are songs only in the two parts of *Henry IV*, and in *Henry VIII*. As poems, these songs have roused delight and a delicate affection in the hearts of generations. Where is there any one with the least feeling for poetry to whom the mere repetition of the first line of "Where the bee sucks, there suck I," or "Hark! hark! the lark," or "Under the greenwood tree," is not as the breath of a spring breeze? As words for music, they have inspired literally hundreds of composers, some of them to compositions of entrancing beauty. They have been made the subject of much laudation and critical analysis. But there seems to be no general treatment of their dramatic function;—their part in the plays and their relation to the characters singing them. It is the purpose of the present paper to discuss these topics.

The great number of the songs—some forty that are more than fragments, besides stage directions for six more, and about fifty snatches of ballads—impresses a modern reader as unnatural; but as the first pages of Chappell's *Popular Melodies of the Olden Time* show, singing was universal in England in Elizabethan times. The meadow, the street, the barber-shop, rang with popular melodies. It is also, of course, well known that the standard of vocal accomplishment in those days was not high. We have authentic records of the

much later introduction into England of the Italian art of singing. With the advance of the art, singing has become more and more the business of specialists, who sing much better than anybody in Shakespeare's England, but who make ordinary people ashamed to sing for their own or others' pleasure in company. The stage of the present day, as a consequence, will not tolerate a song not sung with a finish and skill unknown to the actors of the Globe and the Curtain. When every gentleman, nay, every tinker and carter, sang to kill time, having neither tobacco nor newspaper, the stage naturally reflected the customs of the day. Again, as there was neither regular concert nor vaudeville in those days, the legitimate theatre was the only place where public singing could be heard; and hence an actor who sang agreeably was listened to with a patience such as no modern audience would show. The abundance of music in Shakespeare's and other Elizabethan plays is nothing individual, but was the most natural thing in the world, when England was still vocal and merry.

As to the personages into whose mouths the songs are put, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw said once, at a meeting of the Browning Society in London, when someone had quoted the hackneyed lines from *Twelfth Night*, so often pressed into service to prove Shakespeare's surpassing love for music, that he should not like to sit down to dinner with the singers in Shakespeare. Complete songs are sung by fools, by pert pages, by men in liquor, by servants; by Autolycus the rogue, Caliban the monster, Iago the demi-devil; by Pandarus and Proteus; by Ariel and the fairies; by Ophelia, when mad, by Desdemona. In the company there is but one respectable man, Amiens, a mere walking gentleman, and but one noble woman in full possession of her intellect. Snatches of song are sung by such people as Falstaff, Petruchio, Mercutio, old Evans in the *Merry Wives*, the grave-digger in *Hamlet*, and Edgar when simulating insanity.

The snatches and scraps of song, as they inter-

rupt the play least and are most like conversation, are the easiest of explanation. A frequent form taken by a trivial contest of wit in Shakespeare is the pert application of bits of familiar songs. Thus Rosaline in *Love's Labors Lost* (iv, 1: 129) sings jestingly to Boyet:

"Thou canst not hit it, hit it;
Thou canst not hit it, my good man."

and Boyet replies:

"An I cannot, cannot, cannot,
An I cannot, another can."

The free and easy wit, Mercutio, points his conversation (*R. J.*, ii, 4; 140, 151) with bits of verse, in which popular songs or improvisations to familiar tunes are employed as quips and jeers. The clown in *All's Well* (i, 3; 63, 73) is merely pert. Touchstone's farewell to the priest (*A. Y. L.* iii, 3, 101) is more like Mercutio's farewell to the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*. Men of vacant minds at ease troll snatches of song, as the gravedigger in *Hamlet*, Petruccio, when he sits down at home and is drawing off his boots (*T. S.*, iv, 1, 143, 148), and Falstaff taking his ease in his inn (*H. IV*, Pt. 2, ii, 4, 36). Evans, in the *Merry Wives* (iii, 1, 16), covers his fear by singing. Men who are exhilarated by drinking sing snatches of song. The most exquisite example is Silence (*H. IV*, Pt. 2, v, 3). He caps every speech with an irrelevant line or two from a ballad: "Be merry, be merry!" "Fill the cup and let it come!" Falstaff says: "Why now you have done me right."

"Silence. Do me right
And dub me knight,
Samingo!

Is't not so?

"Falstaff. 'Tis so.

"Silence. Why, then, say an old man can do somewhat!"

The fine scene with Sir Toby Belch, Sir Andrew Aguecheek and the Clown in *Twelfth Night* (ii, 3) will be recurred to later. Fools, who will be spoken of again, and mad persons betray their lightheadedness by irrelevant scraps of melody. Under this disguise the hysterical tenderness of the Fool in *Lear* is hidden; his shafts of keen but loving satiric wit are couched in the form of improvisations and parodies of popular songs,

sung to familiar tunes. Edgar in his pretence of madness sings scraps of song, Ophelia does likewise, and it is in the scene where Hamlet confirms in the mind of Polonius the belief in his madness that Hamlet repeats, or as I think more likely, sings, a line or two of an old song. In fine, the singing of snatches of melody is, on Shakespeare's stage at best undignified, and usually unbalanced.

The complete songs present a more attractive and a more complicated problem. A few are mere epilogues, as is the song "When that I was and a little tiny boy," at the end of *Twelfth Night*. The actor who first played the part was a favorite singer, and an Elizabethan audience was glad of the opportunity to hear him sing a popular song—it is not by Shakespeare—after the play was over. The two songs with which *Love's Labors Lost* closes are in effect epilogues. Unlike the epilogue of *Twelfth Night*, they must be by Shakespeare. No other writer combined such vividness of concrete phrase, humor, and refined sweetness of diction as are present in these two songs. Yet they are mere tags to the play.

Other songs have a mechanical or technical function. They help to shift a scene or to bring in an aside. For example, in *As You Like It*, two people go out. It is desired to bring them on the stage again almost immediately, two hours or more being supposed to pass in the interval. A song is interpolated (iv, 2) between the two appearances, a lively song with a lot of bustle on the stage,—“What shall he have that kills the deer?” Dr. Johnson complained that this “noisy scene,” in which nothing was transacted, was supposed to occupy two hours. So it did to the imagination. It took up the mind for the moment, broke the current of thought completely, and when the next scene opened, the auditor only felt that an indefinitely long space of time had elapsed since the personages then on the stage had left it. We must remember that there was no curtain closing off the whole stage, and no such decisive change of the scenery as is possible now.

Or again, where Proteus sings Thurio's song to Sylvia (*T. G.* iv, 2, 31), Julia is enabled to catch the proof of his faithlessness more easily and with less appearance of spying than if she listened to speech addressed to Sylvia alone. Likewise in

Much Ado (ii, 3, 64), Balthazar's song, "Sigh no more, ladies," gives the opportunity to make Benedick's hiding and detection more effective.

But these are after all superficial effects, mere accidents of the playwright's trade, having little to do with the fundamentally dramatic elements in the plays. Can we not find in Shakespeare's employment of songs a finer art than is exhibited in these tricks and devices?

A drama is an action; a connected sequence of human deeds. These deeds of the characters proceed from their will, or unconsciously reveal their characters. An action, then, brings together the two worlds, the world within us and the world without. A deed is dramatic, as Freytag tells us, if it is the result of an inward struggle, reaching a decisive determination, with consequences in the outer world; an event is dramatic if it acts on the inner life and affects the character. Will, then, is the supremely dramatic element of human nature. Further, an act to be dramatic must be part of a transaction, of a plot. Thus the appearance of the ghost in *Hamlet* is dramatic; it affects the action of Hamlet's mind, and has consequences psychological and material. Hamlet's mental struggles are dramatic; they affect the decision of his will, and determine the fortunes of others. Hamlet is a dramatic character: we see in him an effort to adjust the outer and the inner world. Ophelia is not in the same degree dramatic. In her case we deal not so much with acts and consequences as with fixed emotional conditions.

Melody, it is obvious, is in some respects the opposite of dramatic. It is the index and the natural result of definite emotional conditions with vague results in the world of action. It looks to no consequences, it is complete in its own paradise. Its seed is in itself, like the fruit tree created by divine power in the beginning of the world. A song sung naturally gives us a picture, not an incident; is static, not progressive. Thus in an Italian opera the conspicuous scenes are points of emotional overwelling,—joy, aspiration, retrospect,—in which the mood of a single figure dominates the stage. The aria is finished, the story is moved on by a quasi-conversation, and a new emotional picture is given. "Arsace returns—I rejoice"; "Margherita! how beautiful you look in the jewels"; "Ah, what a fright I

had last night!" The melodies of the Elizabethan age were gentle and closed in short space, and were therefore frequently recurrent. They are accordingly conspicuously incompatible with decided action and forward movement of the plot.

Songs, and especially such songs, are fit for one class of scenes above all—convivial scenes. Joy is its own justification. It looks neither forward nor backward, but simply bubbles out in ecstatic song, dance, and frolic. Song is the absolute ideal expression of joy, in real life as on the stage. Naturally, every convivial scene in Shakespeare contains snatches of singing, more often than not accompanying a complete song. There are five notable passages of bacchanalian gaiety in Shakespeare's plays: the one in *Henry IV, Pt. 2*, already referred to, in which Silence gradually gets drunk as an accompaniment to fragments of a dozen ballads; the scene in *Othello* (ii, 31) in which Iago tempts Cassio, and sings a pair of jolly songs; the scene in *Antony and Cleopatra* (iii, 2) in which Pompey entertains the triumvirs, and the boy sings "Come, thou monarch of the vine"; the scene in the *Tempest* (ii, 2), in which Stephano and Caliban sing; and the scenes in *Twelfth Night* (ii, 1 and 3), in which the musical fool entertains the two knights, and Sir Toby afterwards becomes irrepressibly vocal. The central song of the last passage, "O mistress mine," completely and purely expresses delight in living, but in it there is nothing dramatic, not so much as special appropriateness to the character of the singer. It is, of course, something to cause reflection that such words should be put into the mouth of a professional entertainer singing to two old sinners. We know Elizabethan England could provide plenty of ribald songs; but testimony of the most irrefutable nature assures us that the sympathies of the time were sufficiently pure for very ordinary fellows, boors even, to delight in such strains as these. Several of the drinking songs are designed to be in keeping with the characters who sing them,—for example, Stephano's vulgar tavern songs, and Caliban's grotesque canticle of freedom; and no doubt the drinking song in *Antony and Cleopatra* is designedly classical in its allusions.

The central function of Shakespeare's songs, however, the function of the songs most loved

and best remembered, is to give a tone, usually a glamor and a sense of romance, to a whole play. Proteus's song to Sylvia, the only song in Shakespeare actually sung by a lover to his mistress, and by him under pretense of acting as a deputy, is the song of a faithless lover, and its substance has no peculiar fitness to the situation. Only the age and time and place wherein such songs are sung is raised and ideal. In *Cymbeline* it is Cloten who causes to be sung the "hunt's-up,"—"Hark! hark! the lark"; but the charm of the song makes the whole play beautiful with the light of morning, while the song of the two boys by "fair Fidele's grassy tomb" perfumes it as with the breath of violets.

It is in the woodland romances that this effect is most plain; as is natural from the traditions of Elizabethan song. It is largely, if not mainly, pastoral in spirit. The pastoral form has never taken firm hold in English literature, but the pastoral spirit has been vital there as in few literatures, a spirit of delight in rural life, felt by people near enough to enjoy it, far enough to appreciate it, and sophisticated enough to idealize it. In the pastoral romances, elegant and refined shepherdesses, or princesses disguised as such, are wooed by elegant and chivalrous shepherds; and both of them fill every pause with song. When the hero is sad, he sings; when hopeful, he sings; when he has nothing to do, he sings; when he is going to do something, he sings; and when he has done something, he sings. We are told what passion his songs display, but when we read the verses the passion seems to have evaporated, leaving usually a *caput mortuum*, but sometimes a delicate savor of gentle and romantic beauty, and a strange and sweet union of sincerity and artificiality. Such are the songs and pastorals of Breton, the successful songs of Lodge and Greene, and such in the drama are the golden songs of Peele, and Lyly's "Cupid and my Campaspe." Arcadia is a kind of fairyland, and Cupid and other delicate mythological fancies from the gardens of Alexandria are not unfit associates for the princesses of curds and cream who dwell there. The appropriateness of such songs to the forest of Arden is evident, even though a clearer air blows in it than in the sometimes "musky alleys" of Arcadian groves. Without "Under the greenwood tree," "Hey, ding-

a-ding," and "Blow, blow, thou winter wind," how much even of the charm of Rosalind would be lost.

Fairies and sweet spirits of course sing. One might think song would be their natural speech; but this is not the case. Fairies and witches speak in a special metre, but they speak. Yet the incantations of fairyland are often sung:

"Ye spotted snakes, with double tongue,
Thorny hedge-hogs, be not seen;
Newts and blind worms, do no wrong;
Come not near our fairy queen."

At the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a stage direction calls for a song and dance of the fairies to hallow the house; and the pretended fairies in *The Merry Wives* play their pranks with a song, reminding us how in Lyly's plays no mischief of page or fairy but is performed to singing. The scenes in *Macbeth* containing stage directions for a song are generally regarded as spurious, and while the witches must intone "Double, double," or deliver it in recitative, the metrical structure of the verses which accompany this refrain seem to make a regular tune for the words very unlikely. Ariel is a creature of song. His element is even more ethereal than that of the fairies, and he is represented nearly always as exercising his magic influence, or as in an ecstasy beyond expression except through song. Hence he sings always.

Fools are all singers. They are professional entertainers, they are emotionally unbalanced, hysterical, and excitable, and song, whether fragmentary or complete, is appropriate in their mouths. Rogues also sing. Like fools, they make a business of entertaining; and their irresponsibility is marked by their giving themselves up to impulse, instead of looking to the remote consequences of action. Illustrations are Falstaff, Pandarus, Autolycus. Rogues and fools are generally but two species of the same genus in Shakespeare, and both alike are usually given something of the golden charm of Arcadian life such as pervades the atmosphere of *As You Like It*. Autolycus in particular through his songs expresses the delights of irresponsible living sweetly and perfectly.

Effective men do not sing in Shakespeare. Iago may seem to be an exception; but Iago

sings not to sing but to seduce. He sings as a dramatic act, with purpose and with effect in the plot. He assumes the appearance of unthinking good-fellowship, and in doing so displays another of the gifts which his creator lavished upon him. We may be sure he was a creditable vocalist as well as a ready improvisator.

A station of dignity is incompatible with singing, on the stage of Shakespeare, either by man or woman. Hence great personages who desire to hear music call for it, and the actual singing is performed by a servant or attendant, usually a young person. Here, of course, the influence of practical exigencies in determining the assignment of rôles must be recognized. Singing parts would naturally be taken by the best vocalist in the company; and a company would be strangely fortunate in which the best vocalist possessed also the abilities qualifying him for the nobler rôles. In principle, Hamlet as a complete gentleman should be a musician; but Hamlets who can rise to the part are not so common that the choice should be limited by adding dispensable requirements to the absolute necessities of the part. Often, indeed, the singer might not have histrionic talent for even humble rôles. Hence, the playwright, except where assured of uncommon powers possessed by the singing actor, could safely offer him only a colorless part, or at best one of little variety, in which he could be coached. Yet, after all allowances and abatements are made, it is plain that like all other wise artists, like the painter in oil who "feels his medium," or the architect who is aware that the same ideas cannot be expressed in marble, iron, and brick, Shakespeare has by accepting the limitations of his art, made them the means of characteristic effects. It is to be observed that even the noble personages who care for music in Shakespeare are in general a little soft. It is the love-sick duke in *Twelfth Night* who is consoled by listening to Feste and finds "music the moody food of love." Brutus asks the boy Lucius for a song, and the emotional tenderness of Brutus, hidden under his mask of stoicism, is often suggested. The melancholy Jaques, who beweeeps the deer, calls for Amiens' first song; and though the banished duke asks for the second, he does not listen, but talks to Orlando. The songs at the ladies' windows,

"Hark! hark! the lark," and "Who is Sylvia?" are conventional compliments, and indicate no interest in music on the part of either Cloten or Thurio. It is a trait of the character of Othello, a man of action, that he "does not greatly care to hear music," and of Benedick that he says, "A horn for my money!" To be sure, Benedick tries to sing when he is in love; but he makes himself ridiculous in the attempt.

Among women, the forsaken and unhappy lady is solaced by song. Mariana in her moated grange hears her page sing "Take, oh, take those lips away." Queen Katharine in *Henry VIII* listens to "Orpheus with his lute,"—the convention is the same whether the scene be Shakespeare's or not. The reason why decent, effective, and dignified men do not sing or appear to care much for song in Shakespeare is that they are responsible persons in the world of action: it is the passive characters in tragedy who sing or are comforted by song. It is the pathetic situation of the woman, a passive character, overcome by fate not deserved, the satellite of the active characters, which is thus accentuated,—pathetic, I say, not tragic, overcoming by pity, not associated with terror. Ophelia's songs are of this nature, and Desdemona's song of "Willow, Willow," owes its dramatic effect to the same sentiment. It is a curious illustration of the difficulty felt in the Shakespearean drama of combining external dignity with the act of singing that the one lady should be mad when she sings, and that the other should be in the utmost privacy of her home, and overcome by melancholy sentiment.

In reading Shakespeare's dramas for the purposes of this study, I have been surprised to observe how many scenes, whether musical or not, are mainly contributory to the atmosphere and background, instead of the action, of the plays. The intenser scenes are in this way provided with foils, and the attention is not jaded by too constant excitement. Thus to some of the most active plays are given serenity and gentleness, qualities which predominate in the personal impression left by Shakespeare.

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THE EXCITING FORCE IN THE DRAMA.

Every drama has one or more exciting moments or forces. The purpose of this paper is to determine the nature, function, and position of the principal exciting force of a drama. Various definitions of this force have been offered from time to time, but the most important of these definitions contain obscure or conflicting elements. They do not agree as to either the function or the position of the force. In some of these there is even a confounding of the exciting force with the exciting cause of the action. It is my purpose, then, to attempt to clear up the obscurities and separate and distinguish the conflicting elements.

I shall take up, first, some of the definitions of the exciting moment as given by the different authorities on the subject. A. W. Schlegel, in his *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, pp. 240-42 (Bohn's translation), several times makes use of the term 'first determination' or simply 'determination' as the beginning of the action. He speaks of the "determination of Oedipus to discover and punish the murderer of Laius; the pious 'resolve' of Antigone to bury her brother; Brutus' great 'resolve,' and so on. . . . The absolute beginning of an ancient tragedy is the assertion of free-will." Thus it is seen that Schlegel incidentally considers the beginning of the action as an act of volition, and this is the exciting force of the action.

In his *Technique of the Drama*, Gustav Freytag is more explicit and attempts various definitions of the dramatic exciting moment. Some of these definitions are very clear, but others are obscure and even contradictory. On p. 115 (MacEwan's translation), Freytag indicates accurately the nature and position of the exciting moment, when he says that "Between the [five parts of a drama] stand three important scenic effects, through which the parts are separated as well as bound together. Of these three dramatic moments or crises one, which indicates the beginning of the stirring action, stands between the introduction and the rise. It is called the exciting moment or force." Again on p. 121, in speaking of the element of volition necessary to the beginning of the excited action, he says that "in *Julius Caesar* this impel-

ling force is the thought of killing Caesar," and that "in *Othello* it is the agreement between Iago and Roderigo to separate the Moor and Desdemona."

Some of Freytag's illustrations, however, do not illustrate, as in *Clavigo*, the arrival of Beaumarchais at his sister's is said to be the exciting force. There is certainly no act of will in a mere arrival of a character. Nor can the entrance of Mephistopheles into Faust's room be the exciting moment. Nor can either the stimulating prophecies of the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth* or the melodramatic appearance of the Ghost in *Hamlet* be considered as the beginning of the action proper of the drama.

More consistent is Freytag when, on p. 124, he affirms that the exciting force "always forms the transition from the introduction to the ascending action." Again, however, his illustrations are not all apt, for the rescue of Baumgarten in *Tell* cannot be merely an act of will; it is the accomplishment of his determination, a stage in the rise of the Tell-action. On another page (197), Freytag calls Baumgarten's flight and rescue the exciting force.

Other illustrations of the exciting force show plainly that Freytag had no very clear idea of what such a force is. They make it evident that at one time he is thinking more of the scenic nature of the force than of its volitional aspect. Such physical actions as the arrival of Beaumarchais or Theseus, the rescue of Baumgarten, the appearance of a ghost, the utterances of the oracles, the reading of a list of names, the boxing of ears, the meeting of generals, are often called by Freytag and others the exciting force of the drama, though they may precede or follow, frequently by more than one scene, the real beginning of the dramatic action. Evidently the exciting force cannot be two entirely different things at one and the same time.

Professor Price, in his *Technique of the Drama*, p. 72, puts the beginning of the action in Act I, immediately after the introduction. With Price as with Freytag, there is a tendency to confuse the initiating moment with one of the causes of the action, which should belong, of course, to the introduction or exposition. Quite clear and definite, however, are Price's words on page 90:

"It is when issue is joined that the action really begins. . . . The moment the hero of the play or his following, or the opposing force, announces a purpose, the mechanism is set in motion. . . . It must occur in every first act, and is usually not distant from the conclusion of it."

Rather definite, but still somewhat contradictory, is a passage from Miss Woodbridge's excellent little book, *The Drama, its Law and its Technique*, p. 81: "The action proper of a play begins with what is called the 'exciting force,' that is, the force which is to change things from their condition of balance or repose, and precipitate the dramatic conflict. . . . Macbeth's meeting with the witches furnishes the exciting force. Here first is suggested to him the thought that afterwards develops into act, in the murders of Duncan and Banquo." But Macbeth's meeting with the witches does not begin the real action of the drama; it is only a part of the exposition, a presentation of one of the causes or occasions or motive forces of the action. The action proper begins when Macbeth says, at the very end of Act first:

"I am settled, and bend up
Each corporal agent to this terrible feat."

All before this is introductory matter, is preparation for action. The final decision to act is the exciting force.

Following in the track of the preceding authorities Bliss Perry reproduces their errors or contradictions. In his discriminating work, *A Study of Prose Fiction*, p. 53, he says: "Then comes, commonly in the middle or towards the end of the first act of the play, and not far from the beginning of a well-constructed tale, what is called the 'exciting (or 'inciting') force' or 'moment.' Something happens and even though this happening may be apparently insignificant, it begins to affect the entire course of the plot. The ghost appears to Hamlet; the witches confront Macbeth; Cassius talks with Brutus; the clash of interest begins; the lines of party or of faction, of individual ambition or resolve, are suddenly apparent."

The principal difficulty with the above terms and definitions is the fact that the critics have tried in vain to make one definition apply to two

entirely different things. Those who have attempted to give an exhaustive definition with ample and apt illustrations have invariably failed to perceive their inevitable contradictions. They have not seen that there is of necessity a difference between an inciting cause and an exciting force, between the introduction or exposition and the real action of a drama. They have forgotten that the first act of a drama is almost wholly composed of introductory or preparatory matter, the actual beginning of the dramatic action being reserved regularly, in a well-constructed drama, for the last few speeches of the first act or the first lines of the second act. They have failed to discriminate between the nature, the function, and the position of the exciting force. At times they have emphasized the scenic power of the force, as in the appearance of the ghost in *Hamlet*, and at other times its position. Some have laid stress on the word 'exciting,' others have been more concerned about the function of the moment.

The solution of the difficulty that I propose to offer is as follows. In the first place, the exciting cause of the dramatic action should be clearly and rigidly separated from the exciting commencement of this action. The first I would call the exciting or inciting cause, and the second the exciting or initial force or moment. For example, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles the exciting cause is Creon's edict that whoever buries the body of Polyneices shall be punished with death; the exciting force is Antigone's resolve to bury her brother. In *Hamlet*, the exciting cause is the appearance and instruction of the Ghost to Hamlet; the exciting force is Hamlet's rather indefinite resolution that, with certain mental reservations, he will avenge the death of his father, ending with these words:

"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite
That ever I was born to set it right."

In Corneille's *Le Cid*, the exciting cause is the famous 'box on the ears,' the exciting force being Rodrigue's determination to avenge his father on the Count, though the offender be the father of Chimène. In Racine's *Iphigénie*, the exciting cause is the demand of the oracle for a victim of the blood of Helen, the exciting force being Agamemnon's '*Je cède*,' his resolution to sacrifice his

daughter. In the same author's *Esther*, the exciting cause is the edict of the King that the Jews shall be put to death, the exciting force being Esther's resolve to enter the King's presence to intercede for her people, though she should perish in her attempt. In Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, the exciting cause is Dr. Stockman's discovery that the Baths are contaminated; the exciting force is his determination to prepare and publish a report of his discovery. In Schiller's *Robbers*, the exciting cause is the reception of the supposed letter from Karl von Moor's father, the exciting force being Karl's resolve to become Captain of the band of robbers, expressed in these words, "As my soul lives I will be your captain."

I would confine, then, the exciting force or moment strictly to the actual beginning of the dramatic action, eliminating all introductory matter whether causal or explanatory. The function of the exciting force is, therefore, to initiate the action, to start the ball to rolling, to arouse the curiosity and interest of the spectator in the real conflict of opposing forces. At this point the hero, or the principal opposing force, comes forth, after being subjected to various influences from within and without, with his mind definitely made up to accomplish some great purpose. The forming or announcement of this cherished plan is the initiating moment of the conflict, the exciting force of the drama. Thus the nature of this force is psychological, an act of will. Occasionally, however, as in Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, this resolve takes place off the stage and is made known to the spectators by the physical beginning of the action.

Furthermore, the exciting force is, as a rule, connected directly with the hero or the principal opposing force, who resolves to do something. Electra resolves to avenge her father. Ajax determines to kill himself. In the liberty-action of *Tell* the three Swiss determine to stand together for liberty, in victory or defeat, in life and death. Wallenstein decides to continue his rebellion against the emperor. Mephistopheles resolves to tempt Faust, permission being granted him to test the unsatisfied Doctor. Brutus resolves on the death of Caesar. The early conversation of Cassius and Brutus is not, as Freytag and Bliss Perry would have us believe, the exciting force

of the drama. The early action of the hero's friends or adherents, as that of Cassius in *Julius Caesar* and of Nearchus in *Polyeucte*, only leads the hero to determine on doing something. Such action is, then, only preparatory or causal or explanatory, and therefore belongs properly to the exposition or introduction. Finally, in a comedy of intrigue the exciting force is generally the determination of the arch-intriguer to outwit his victim, often his master, as in Molière's *L'Étourdi*.

As to the position of this exciting force, the practice is that it comes almost invariably just before the first appearance of the full chorus in the ancient drama and at the very end of act first in a regularly constructed modern drama of from three to five acts. In *Oedipus King*, just before the entrance of the full chorus, Oedipus declares that he will, at all hazards, discover the murderer of Laius. In *Othello*, the agreement between Iago and Roderigo to separate Othello and Desdemona, occurs at the very end of Act I. In speaking of his resolve to avenge himself on Othello, Iago, in the last words of the Act, says:

"I have 't. It is engender'd. Hell and night
Must bring this monstrous birth to the world's light."

The Cid's determination to avenge himself on the Count is expressed in the last lines of the first Act of Corneille's *Le Cid*.

Rarely is the exciting force found in the early scenes of the first Act. It appears in the very beginning of *Richard III*, where the hero, with his mind fully made up as to his plans, declares, "I am determined to prove a villain," and then plunges at once into the action of the drama which is dominated by his personality. In other plays of Shakespeare, as in the histories and romances, which contain a large epic element, the exciting force is usually given at or near the beginning of the first act, employing the traditional method of the Classical epic poems that plunge at once *in medias res*. Thus the remarks of Bliss Perry, quoted above, are more true perhaps of the novel, which is epic in form and spirit, than of the drama.

A few dramas, as Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, defer the exciting force to the beginning of the second act, in order that the hero may make use of the additional time that passes in the interval

between the first and second acts. With consummate art Shakespeare makes us see that the action is important, concerning not simply individuals but kings and empires, and that this interval of time was employed by Brutus in a most exciting inward conflict :

"Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma or a hideous dream :
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council, and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection."

Now, this 'first motion' is an exact definition of the exciting force, which is expressed in Brutus' words at the beginning of Act II, "Then it must be by his death," the completion of the hero's resolve to join and lead the conspiracy against the life of Caesar. Usually this conflict, whether inward or outward, is seen in the introduction, the interval between Acts I and II being devoted to preparation for the carrying out of the resolve which forms the exciting or initiating force of the action ; but in the case of *Julius Caesar* the actual resolution of Brutus is delayed until after this "interim" between the "first motion" and "the acting of a dreadful thing."

In a Classical drama or a drama with only one action, there is, of course, only one exciting force and its position is regular, being at or near the end of Act I. In romantic dramas, however, there are often several actions—a main action and one or more minor or subordinate actions. Each of these actions has its own exciting force ; but sometimes, as in *Hernani* and *The Robbers*, the exciting force of a sub-action usurps the position usually held by that of the main action, intentionally perhaps misleading the spectators.

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A MISINTERPRETED PASSAGE IN GOETHE'S *HERMANN UND DOROTHEA*.

In order to realize the state of affairs presented in the concluding canto of *Hermann und Dorothea*, it should be remembered that when the maiden is

introduced into Hermann's parental home, all persons are aware of the young man's real intentions, except Dorothea herself. Thus the father, going straight to the point with his whimsical, self-complacent speech (IX, 78-85) unwittingly brings the uncomfortable situation to a head. Encouraged by the sagacious pastor, Hermann relieves the tension of the moment by confessing his stratagem and declaring his love to Dorothea ; and then the pastor, with his accustomed presence of mind and sureness of judgment, seizes upon the "psychologic" moment and of his own accord proceeds to the rites of betrothal, as follows (243 f.):

"Noch einmal sei der goldenen Reifen Bestimmung,
Fest ein Band zu knüpfen, das völlig gleiche dem alten.
Dieser Jüngling ist tief von der Liebe zum Mädchen
durchdrungen,
Und das Mädchen gesteht, dass auch ihr der Jüngling
erwünscht ist.
Also verlob' ich euch hier und segn' euch künftigen
Zeiten,
Mit dem Willen der Eltern und mit dem Zeugnis des
Freundes."

The mercurial apothecary cannot refrain from signalling his felicitations before the ceremony is over (249 f.):

"Und es neigte sich gleich mit Segenswünschen der
Nachbar.
Aber als der geistliche Herr den goldenen Reif nun
Steckt' an die Hand des Mädchens, erblickt' er den
anderen
staunend,
Den schon Hermann zuvor am Brunnen sorglich be-
trachtet.
Und er sagte darauf mit freundlich scherzenden Worten :
'Wie! du verlobest dich schon zum zweitenmal? Dass
nicht der erste
Bräutigam bei dem Altar sich zeige mit hinderndem
Einspruch!'"

Probably the passage would not bother the reader had it not been obfuscated by critical overconscientiousness. For the editors, from Father Düntzer on, are perplexed by the pastor's astonishment, inasmuch as he knows, or ought to know, all about Dorothea's former love affair (VI, 186-190). And so they seek for an explanation. Nearly all American editors of *H. u. D.* have dealt with this question.

Says Hewett (p. 209): "The pastor's real or feigned surprise has led to the supposition that

the lines in canto vi, 186-190, were an interpolation," etc.; . . . *id.* (p. 210), anent l. 255: "This reference to Dorothea's first betrothed would have been cruel had the pastor known the verses vi, 187-191, describing the noble death of her lover, and her silent heroism under her loss."

Hatfield (p. 168), acquiescing, adds the remark that "such inconsistencies are not unknown in Goethe's works, notably in 'Faust.'"

Allen (p. 181) suggests as a motive for the pastor's feigned surprise a desire to elicit from Dorothea herself a recital of her story.

Thomas (p. 104) mentions the interesting fact that the pastor has once been on the point of telling Hermann of Dorothea's first engagement (vi, 251), and hazards two guesses, neither of them very plausible: . . . "to disclose his knowledge now, in Dorothea's presence, would bring out the story of his playing the spy upon her. He has also a pardonable desire to hear the story from the girl herself."

It strikes me as strange that none of the editors express any concern over what would be really far more disturbing to the æsthetic enjoyment of our poem than that inferential lapse of memory, real or feigned, on the part of the pastor; namely, the calamitous break in the delineation of his character by the poet. The taunting query:

"Wie! du verlobest dich schon zum zweitenmal?"

and the facetious threat:

"Dass nicht der erste
Bräutigam bei dem Altar sich zeige mit hinderndem
Einspruch!"

so unsuited to the solemn moment—would they not be wholly out of keeping with the spiritual and social grace of the pastor whom we know to be a man of the world (i, 80, 83; vi, 306, f.), and who has only just been commended again (ix, 239) as *gut* and *verständlich*, at the very opening of our passage? Yet there is no doubt that this *mauvaise plaisanterie* is laid at the door of the kindest and most sensible of ministers *nemine contradicente*.

It is slightly mortifying to have to confess that my own present understanding of the passage is due to the suggestion of a student at Washington University,—a Freshman, to make the humiliation

complete!¹—namely, that the pronoun *er* (251) might refer, not to *der geistliche Herr* (253), but to *der Nachbar* (249).

It will readily be admitted that those illtimed remarks are quite within the possibilities of our none too discreet friend of the mortar and pestle, while at the same time his surprise would not be quite so inconsistent with the antecedents. At the close of v (241 ff.) the apothecary was seen to leave the pastor and the judge to themselves; his excited curiosity deflected his interest from the judge's story. It is true, as Professor Collitz has clearly pointed out to me, that an unbiased reading of the sequel (vi) shows no evidence of inattention on the part of the apothecary when reference is made to Dorothea's first betrothal (186 f.). Yet absentmindedness there must have been. The question is: Whose mind was it that wandered? The pastor's? The druggist's? Or Goethe's? I contend that the presumption is against the apothecary, so that there is at least some probability of his being genuinely astonished at the sight of the old engagement ring.

Grammatically, to be sure, the proposed reference of *er* to *der Nachbar* seems at first rather dubious.

Not that the rulings of the grammarians stand in the way of the construction here advocated. The most that is to be gathered from their statutes is that the personal pronoun refers to a preceding noun of the same gender and number and that if ambiguity would follow the use of *er*, certain pronouns of demonstrative force should be substituted. Indeed the rule as formulated by Curme would hardly permit of any construction except the one suggested by Miss Harris. For Curme has it (§ 141, 7) that "*er* refers to the subject of the preceding sentence, or in a complex sentence to the subject of the main clause, while *derselbe* (or *dieser*) refers to some oblique case in the preceding sentence or in a complex sentence to some word in a preceding subordinate clause," etc. In our case, therefore, *er* in 253 would refer to *er* in 251 (as it must under any circumstances), and the first *er* could have for its antecedent not *der geistliche Herr*, this not being the subject of the main clause, but only *der Nachbar*, which is

¹ Miss Celia Harris, of St. Louis, Mo.

the subject of the preceding sentence. We must refrain, however, from making capital out of the above not altogether correct summary of actual literary practice, the more so since Curme himself practically repudiates the rule by advising, very justly, adherence to the personal pronoun (in preference over *derselbe* and *dieser*), if no ambiguity would arise therefrom. Heyse, 24th edition, p. 147, says that in doubtful cases reference to the subject of the previous clause should be made by means of *er*, but to the object by means of *derselbe*. The aversion to *derselbe* in such use, nay in conversational German its absolute avoidance, is not taken into account. In Curme, by the way, I find no allusion to the use of *jener* for *er* to refer back to a word in a preceding sentence or clause by which means a very careful writer may nearly always obviate ambiguity; e. g., "Aus allen Bänden ragten zahlreiche Papierstreifen und bewiesen, dass jene fleissig gelesen wurden." Gottfr. Keller, *Das Sinngedicht*, Ges. Werke, VII, p. 40.

In contrast with such almost overscrupulous avoidance of ambiguity stands the slipshod use of the personal pronoun which may be frequently observed in writers of a more ordinary stamp:

"Ihr Fuss berührte seinen Schenkel; er spürte es; es war, als ob ein Feuer von ihm (Fuss? Schenkel? er?) auslief." C. Freiherr v. Schlichtegroll, *Die Hexe von Klewan*, p. 78.

But ambiguity occurs also in writers who are in general quite careful in matters of style:

"Er (Jörn Uhl) warf den Rock ab und zog sein Hemd aus und fasste den Oberkörper des Verwundeten. Da stiess er einen Schrei aus; sein Kopf fiel zurück, und er war tot." (Not Jörn, but the wounded soldier, was dead.) G. Frenssen, *Jörn Uhl*, p. 272.

For the correct reference of the personal pronoun the writer unconsciously relies on the context; as a rule he may do so with far greater safety than on any grammatical prescript. The next illustration is from an author with an exceptionally good diction:

"Sie (Iphigenie) gedenkt seiner (des Tantalus) mit Ehrfurcht, auch Orest nennt ihn das teure, vielverehrte Haupt. Von einer Liebe zu den

Seinigen ist eigentlich nur bei ihm (i. e. bei Tantalus) die Rede." Kuno Fischer, *Goethe's Iphigenie*, p. 30.

It will be noticed that in the last example the personal pronoun does not relate "to the subject of the preceding sentence" any more than in the sentence from Jörn Uhl.

Observance of the "rule," in itself, by no means furnishes a safeguard against momentary equivocation. In the following, the noun subject of the first sentence would better have been repeated in the subordinate clause of the second:

"Das Kopftuch trug sie, wie sich's für ein ehrbares und unbescholtenes Mädchen gehört; doch ahnte man den dicken Knopf braunen Haars darunter, obwohl es (das Kopftuch) das ganze Gesicht rahmte und hüllte." J. J. David, *Filippinas Kind*, Neue Rundschau, Jan., 1907, p. 96.

In ordinary conversation, too, the clarity of expression does not depend on compliance with the "rule." If I were told in a tone of perfect calmness: "Ich trat ins Zimmer meines Sohnes, um nach dem Ofen zu sehen und bemerkte zu Ümeiner Überraschung, dass er rauchte," I might be in doubt whether the surprise was due to the smoking of the stove or of the speaker's son.

A considerable collection of sentences with a more or less uncertain reference of the personal pronoun, culled casually from my miscellaneous reading in the course of a few weeks, furnishes convincing proof that the passage in *Hermann und Dorothea* in point of syntax has analogues by the score; yet our passage may be reckoned as unique in that the true antecedent of the personal pronoun has apparently not even been given the "benefit of the doubt."

In English the personal pronoun pays even less attention to the wishes of grammarians. This is due to the more restricted possibilities of substitution. The lack of surrogates is not infrequently responsible for actual ambiguity where enlightenment is not conveyed by circumstantial evidence. A double meaning would be carried by a warning worded as follows:

You must not put your hands on the pictures, else *they* will be soiled.

A few other cases of syntactical unclearness of the sort :

"It was a long time since Babington's course of life had fostered physical courage. As a college boy, etc. It was Plow that stood in all the glory of his healthy and mature manhood, ready and unafraid. *His* (Babington's) heart beat at his ribs as if it would burst, and his hands were helpless." Herbert M. Hopkins, *The Torch*, p. 349 f.

"By this time I had enough of these credulous inanities, and so I left *them* (refers to the Apostles Peter and John) to their foolish selves." Will. Schuyler, *Under Pontius Pilate*, p. 25.

In the next example, the reader's doubt is not resolved till the last word is reached :

"Morell, angered, turns suddenly on him (Marchbank). *He* flies to the door in involuntary dread." G. Bernard Shaw, *Candida* : Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant, vol. II, p. 235.

The following passage from a writer favorably known for his clear and trenchant style is of special interest in that the personal pronoun is even more remote from its antecedent noun than in our passage in *Hermann und Dorothea* :

"At heart Fiesco is never a republican, though he sometimes takes his mouth full of republican phrases. His mainspring of action is not the welfare of Genova, but his own aggrandizement. Old Andrea, whose power he plots to overthrow and whose magnanimity puts him to shame, is actually a better man than he. If *he* (Fiesco, of course) has a measure of our sympathy in his feud with the younger Doria, that is only because Gianettino is portrayed as a vulgar brute, etc." Calvin Thomas, *Life of Schiller*, p. 86.

It has already been noticed that the possessive pronoun is just as apt to lead to misunderstanding as the personal :

"Gemmingen's 'Head of the House' is an upright German nobleman, etc. . . . His eldest son, Karl, has fallen madly in love with Lotte Wehrmann, etc. . . . The younger son, Ferdinand, an officer, has taken to gaming, lost heavily and has a duel on his hands. His (namely, the upright gentleman's) son-in-law, Monheim, has

become infatuated with a dazzling widow, etc., . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 120.

For the careful reader there is no real ambiguity here, since preceding sentences prepare him to refer *his* to "head of the house."

My final illustrations, however, shall be still more to the purpose. Next to Goethe himself, the weightiest witness to be cited in support of Miss Harris's contention that the maladroitness remarks are interposed by the apothecary, not the minister, is undeniably Schiller. We may content ourselves with a single striking passage from his poetry :

"Aufs Weidwerk hinaus ritt ein edler Held,
Den flüchtigen Gemsbock zu jagen.
Ihm folgte der Knapp mit dem Jägerschoss,
Und als er auf seinem stattlichen Ross
In eine Au kommt geritten,
Ein Glücklein hört er erklingen fern ;
Ein Priester war's mit dem Leib des Herrn ;
Vorankam der Messner geschritten."

Schiller, *der Graf von Habsburg*.

Here the immediate context is no more enlightening as regards the relation of *er* than in the lines under discussion ; and I fail to see why in the last analysis a narrow interpretation of a more or less fictitious rule is less absurd in *Hermann und Dorothea* than it would be in Schiller's ballad, had it ever occurred to anybody to propose it for the latter. Best proof of all, repetitions of the sin against that "rule" are not lacking in Goethe's own writings. Take this one which is not without special aggravations :

"Nach Aulis lockt er sie (viz. Klytämnestra) und brachte dort,
Als eine Gottheit sich der Griechen Fahrt
Mit ungestümen Winden widersetzte,
Die älteste Tochter, Iphigenien,
Vor den Altar Dianens, und sie fiel
Ein blutig Opfer für der Griechen Heil.
Dies, sagt man, hat *ihr* einen Widerwillen
So tief ins Herz geprägt, dass sie dem Werben
Ägisthens sich ergab und den Gemahl
Mit Netzen des Verderbens selbst umschlang."

Goethe, *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, III, 1 (l. 908 ff.).

Attention should also be called to the typographic divisions of canto IX of *Hermann und Dorothea*. I feel that according to the current understanding, l. 249 would better conclude the preceding section. Placed at the beginning of a new paragraph, *Aber* would certainly have less

adversative force. As it is, to make *aber* fit in with the sense imagined by the editors it would have to be taken not as the real German conjunction but as a mere connective in imitation of Greek μέν, δέ; whereas properly read, *aber* here marks very skilfully the sudden check of the apothecary's blithe alacrity.

I doubt not that a closer scrutiny of the text on the basis of the above material will cause many to accept Miss Harris's suggestion, and that with the poet's acquittal of having marred the character presentment of the pastor, the enjoyment of the poem as an artistic whole will be still further enhanced.

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Prague, Bibliotheca Caesarea Regia.

ESPRONCEDA, BYRON AND OSSIAN.

In the course of a study of the relations between Lord Byron's poetry and that of José de Espronceda, I noticed the remarkable resemblance of the Spaniard's hymn *Al Sol*¹ to Byron's versification of Ossian's Address to the Sun in "Carthon."² In both compositions the question is raised whether the sun will perish like mankind, or live on unextinguished, immortal; and the parallelism here suggested is established beyond a cavil by such practically identical lines as the following:—

"Exult, O Sun, in all thy youthful strength!
Age, dark unlovely Age, appears at length."
(ll. 29-30.)

"Goza tu juventud y tu hermosura,
¡ Oh sol! que cuando el pavoroso día
Llegue que el orbe estalle y se desprenda
De la potente mano
Del Padre soberano, . . ."
(ll. 93-97.)

Before long I hope to show in detail how greatly Espronceda was influenced by Lord Byron, but the above interesting parallelism cannot be used to strengthen the case; for the Spanish poet died in 1842, and the lines in English quoted above

were first published in 1898. To be sure, Byron made another version of the same theme, but that, too, was not published until the same year.³ As it is clear, then, that a Byronic source for the hymn is out of the question, one turns instinctively to Ossian itself. In this connection, before considering Espronceda's poem on the sun, it may be well first to note that he wrote two confessed imitations "*del estilo de Ossian*." These are grouped together under the joint title of *Oscar y Malvina*,⁴ and are preceded by the Ossianic legend "A tale of the times of old." The separate poems are called *La Despedida* and *El Combate*. While I have not made a minute study of Espronceda's possible relations to the Ossian matter in general, yet it is safe to say that in both of these compositions he has caught the weird, mournful, mysterious spirit of the "bard"; and there is, moreover, considerable imitation of proper names and incidents, beside such tricks as the use of compound epithets,—*armipotente, aurirrolladas*,⁵—and others like "*Oscar de negros ojos*."⁶ But there is also much original material in Espronceda's poems, particularly in the *Despedida*, which has little in common with the Ossianic matter except the use of such names as those of the lovers, Oscar and Malvina. *El Combate* has borrowed more freely,—from the Ossianic fight between Oscar and Cairbar⁷ ("Cairvar" in the Spanish poem); for not only do the two champions die of mutually inflicted wounds in both compositions, but the *défi*, in both, indicates borrowing:—

"Do I fear thy clanging shield?
Tremble I at Olla's song? No: Cairbar, frighten the feeble: Oscar is a rock." (p. 227, ll. 5-7.)

"Levántate, Cairvar—Oscar le grita—
Cual hórrida tormenta
Eres tú de temer: mas yo no tiemblo:
Desprecio tu arrogancia vosadía:
La lanza apresta y el escudo embraza:
Álzate, pues, que Oscar te desafia."
(ll. 8-13.)

³Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, 1898, vol. LXXXII, pp. 810-814; also *The Works*, &c.; *Poetry*, vol. VII (1904), p. 2.

⁴*Obras*, pp. 50-51.

⁵*El Combate*, ll. 22 and 24.

⁶*La Despedida*, l. 49.

⁷*The Poems of Ossian, Centenary Edition*, Edinburgh, 1896, pp. 225-229.

¹*Obras poéticas de Espronceda*, Valladolid, 1900, p. 55.

²*The Works of Lord Byron*. London. *Poetry*, vol. I (1898), p. 229.

Both the title and the spirit, then, as well as several details, of these two poems show that Espronceda was familiar with the Ossianic matter. This was, of course, doubly possible for a poet whose studies and whose later residence in England had given him a good knowledge of the language and literature of that country.⁸ Now it happens that the hymn *Al Sol*, in practically all editions of Espronceda's poetry, beginning with the first, is printed directly after these two Ossianic imitations, but without any superficial indication that it is connected with them through its origin; and yet it is more like Ossian than either of them. To prove this statement one has but to examine the following parallel passages (arranged in the order in which they occur in Espronceda's poem):—

- (1) "Who can be a companion of thy course?"⁹
(l. 13.)

"¡Ojalá que mi acento poderoso
¡Oh sol á tí llegara
Y en medio de tu curso te parara!"
(ll. 6, 10, 11.)

- (2) "Whether thy yellow hair floats on the eastern
clouds, or thou tremblest at the gates of
the west."
(ll. 22-24.)

"De los dorados límites de Oriente
.

⁸ Valera (*Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1902, pp. 55-56), in fact, maintains that the Ossianic influence was an exotic and relatively uninfluential ingredient in Spanish romanticism: Pedro de Montengón's translation of Cesarotti's Italian version of Ossian was, he says, little known, and English was much less read in Spain at that time than now. This translation (*Fingal y Temora || Poemas Epicos || de Osian || Antiguo Poeta Celtico || Traducido || En Verso Castellano || Por Don Pedro Montengon || Tomo Primero || Madrid, MDCCC*) never, I believe, got beyond the first volume, which does not contain the address to the sun. A copy of this is to be found in the National Library of Madrid (No. "5.1988"). In a publication called *Variedades || de Ciencia, Literatura || y Artes || Obra Periodica ||* (Tomo Tercero || Madrid || 1804, pp. 377-8), there appeared an "Apostrofe al Sol que termina el poema de Curton," by J[osé] M[archena], which is, of course, the poem under consideration. This versification, however, is unlike Espronceda's and there is no reason to believe that he knew it, or at least used it, especially in view of his imitation of other parts of Ossian and his use of the English heading "A Tale of the Times of Old."

⁹ Ossian's address to the sun is here quoted as found in *The Poems of Ossian*, 1896, p. 184.

Al término sombrado de Occidente
Las orlas de tu ardiente vestidura
Tiendes en pompa." (ll. 24, 26-28.)

Cf. also:

"tu rica encendida cabellera." (l. 42.)

- (3) "Who can be a companion of thy course? The
oaks of the mountains fall: the mountains
themselves decay with years: the ocean
shrinks and grows again: the moon her-
self is lost in heaven; but thou art forever
the same; rejoicing in the brightness of
thy course. When the world is dark with
tempests; when thunder rolls and light-
ning flies, thou lookest in thy beauty from
the clouds, and laughest at the storm."
(ll. 13-20.)

"¡Cuántos siglos sin, fin cuántos has visto
En su abismo insondable desplomarse!
¡Cuánta pompa, grandeza y poderío
De imperios populosos disiparse!
¿Qué fueron ante tí? Del bosque umbrío
Secas y leves hojas desprendidas,
Que en círculos se mecen
Y al furor de Aquilón desaparecen.
Libre tú de la cólera divina,
Viste anegarse el universo entero,
Cuando las aguas por Jehová lanzadas,
Impelidas del brazo justiciero
Y á mares por los vientos despeñadas,
Bramó la tempestad; retumbó en torno
El ronco trueno y con temblor crujieron
Los ejes de diamante de la tierra:
Montes y campos fueron
Alborotado mar, tumba del hombre.
Se estremeció el profundo;
Y entonces tú, como señor del mundo
Sobre la tempestad tu trono alzabas,
Vestido de tinieblas,
Y tu faz engrías,
Y á otros mundos en paz resplandecías.
Y otra vez nuevos siglos
Viste llegar, huir, desvanecerse
En remolino eterno, cual las olas
Llegan, se agolpan y huyen del Oceano,
Y tornan otra vez á sucederse;
Mientras inmutable tú, solo y radiante,
¡Oh sol! siempre te elevas,
Y edades mil y mil huellas triunfante."¹⁰
(ll. 47-78.)

- (4) But thou art perhaps, like me, for a season; thy
years will have an end. Thou shalt sleep
in the clouds, careless of the voice of the
morning.
(ll. 24-26.)

¹⁰ This passage and the next illustrate interestingly how Espronceda developed the slight germ of thought he found in Ossian.

“¿Y habrás de ser eterno, inextinguible,
Sin que nunca jamás tu inmensa hoguera
Pierda su resplandor, siempre incansable,
Audaz siguiendo tu inmortal carrera,
Hundirse las edades contemplando
Y solo, eterno, perenal, sublime,
Monarca poderoso, dominando?
No : que también la muerte.
Si de lejos te sigue,
No menos anhelante te persigue.”

(ll. 79-88.)

- (5) “Exult then, O sun ! in all the strength of thy
youth : Age is dark and unlovely.”

(ll. 26-28.)

“Goza tu juventud y tu hermosura,
¡ Oh sol !”

(ll. 93-94.)

- (6) “Thou shalt sleep in the clouds, careless of the
voice of the morning.”

(ll. 25-26.)

“En tinieblas sin fin tu llama pura
Entonces morirá.”

(ll. 103-4.)

Weddigen, who is rather prone to see Byronic influence wherever skepticism or pessimism show themselves, speaks of this poem of Espronceda's as follows, with no mention of the source : “Esproncedas Skepticismus spricht sich in der Hymne ‘An die Sonne’ aus. ‘Wie viele Jahrhunderte ohne Ende,’ so heisst es darin, ‘hast du in ihrem unerforschlichen Abgrunde versinken, wie viel Glanz, Hoheit und Macht bevölkerter Reiche verschwinden sehen !’ . . . Aber mitten in seiner Begeisterung unterbricht sich der Dichter. Er sieht den Augenblick voraus, wo die glänzende Sonne Spaniens [!] erbleichen und ohne einen Morgen in der Nacht erlöschen wird. Seine Skepsis giebt dem Ganzen einen disharmonischen Abschluss.”¹¹ All of this would be much more to the point if the composition were spontaneous. Blanco García shows a keener scent when he remarks concerning the *Himno al Sol* that Espronceda “copia imágenes y conceptos del falso Ossian, aunque calentándolos con el fuego de su propio numen”;¹² but he tells us nothing more precise.

¹¹Lord Byron's *Einfluss auf die europäischen Litteraturen der Neuzeit*, Hannover, 1884, p. 96.

¹²*La literatura española en el siglo XIX* (2nd ed.), Parte Primera (Madrid, 1899), p. 81. This opinion had, I believe, been previously expressed by Señor Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Other writers who mention Espronceda's *Al Sol* almost invariably speak of it as one of his greatest poems, but say nothing of its relation to Ossian.

Thus far the case has been clear enough. Espronceda certainly used the Ossian matter. Whether Byron's influence may be invoked to account in any way for this imitation, it is much less easy to decide. Byron's use of Ossian, even in compositions published during his lifetime, is of course clear enough ; and, this being true, one should be ready to admit that this habit might, consciously or unconsciously, have passed from him to his Spanish disciple. “Ossian points as directly to Byron,” says Professor Phelps, “as the chivalry and ballad revivals to Scott. . . . In Byron's poetry—sincere or feigned—we see constantly manifest the Ossian feeling.”¹³ Not taking account of probable reminiscences such as those in “The Giaour” (292 sq., and 620 sq.), one may appeal to the legend placed at the head of the “Elegy on Newstead Abbey,” to such compositions as “Oscar of Alva,” and, more concrete still, to the prose “Imitations of MacPherson's Ossian” called “The Death of Calmar and Orla.”¹⁴ But the passage—probably Ossianic—that has the most direct bearing on the present problem is the interesting apostrophe to the sun found in “Manfred,” Act III, scene ii ; for several lines can be selected from it that remind one of Espronceda's poem :—

- (1) “As my first glance
Of love and wonder was for thee, then take
My latest look.” (ll. 25-27.)

“¡ Cuánto siempre te amé, sol refulgente !
¡ Con qué sencillo anhelo,
Siendo niño inocente,
Seguirte ansiaba en el tendido cielo,
Y extático te vía
Y en contemplar tu luz me embebecía.”
(ll. 18-23.)

- (2) “Thou chief Star !
Centre of many stars ! which mak'st our earth
Endurable, and temperest the hues
And hearts of all who walk within thy rays !”
(ll. 16-19.)

“Y el mundo bañas en tu lumbre pura,
Vívido lanzas de tu frente el día,
Y, alma y vida del mundo,
Tu disco en paz majestuoso envía

¹³*The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, p. 153.

¹⁴See further *Ossians Einfluss auf Byrons Jugendgedichte*, von Friedrich Wilmsen, Berlin, 1903.

Plácido ardor fecundo,
Y te elevas triunfante,
Corona de los orbes centellante." ¹⁵

(ll. 29-35.)

It may be well to add that these two citations from the Spanish poem are taken from the first third of it, while nearly all of those allied to the Ossianic matter occur in the later part of the composition. If these parallels to "Manfred" are to be taken seriously, one might perhaps hazard the guess that Espronceda caught the first suggestion of a hymn to the sun from his favorite, Byron, and that he then filled out his poem with ideas taken from Ossian. This would help to explain why he happened unintentionally to versify the very passage from Ossian that Byron put twice into unpublished verse. And yet these Ossianic poems of Espronceda's belong to his earlier and relatively un-Byronic period; and Ossian, an older force in European literature, may well have been not only the most important source for the hymn to the sun, but also its earliest inspiration; and "Manfred" may have come second in time as well as in importance.

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THE SOURCES AND AUTHORSHIP OF *THE THRACIAN WONDER*.

In *Modern Philology*, January, 1906, Mr. J. Q. Adams published an article¹ showing that the play, *The Thracian Wonder*, the earliest known copy of which is dated 1661, is based primarily upon Robert Greene's pastoral romance *Menaphon*, first published in 1589. Mr. Adams explains the resemblance, however, on the usual basis of the borrowing of one author from another, and so discounts any probability that the play is by Greene himself. More recently in *The Modern*

Language Review,² Mr. J. Le Gay Brereton, evidently unacquainted with the earlier article, puts forward Mr. Adams's first view, but argues in some detail for Greene's authorship of the play. It is the purpose of the present writer to present various resemblances between *The Thracian Wonder* and works of Greene other than *Menaphon*, and on this enlarged basis for inferences, to discuss Greene's relation to the play.

It has already been made clear that the main plot of *The Thracian Wonder* is substantially that of *Menaphon*. In both a cruel king accuses his daughter and her husband unjustly, setting her adrift with her child in one boat, and her husband in another, and putting them out to sea, whence in time, without knowing each other's fate, they come to the same shore, both take to the shepherd life and guise, meet and without recognition, and again fall in love with each other. The child, being stolen away, grows up in a foreign court, is loved by the king's daughter there, and later hearing of the beauty of the fair shepherdess, his mother, comes to pay court to her, as does her father, the king, neither of them guessing her relationship to himself. Through her father's contrivance she is stolen away from the shepherds, who at once go to recover her by storming the king's castle, and after much parley and complication all identities are disclosed, all wrongs are forgiven, and everybody is made happy. So far the *Menaphon* plot holds sway.

It is worth noting, however, that the resemblance between Greene's *Orlando Furioso*³ and *The Thracian Wonder* is hardly less striking than that between the latter and *Menaphon*. Indeed, although the *Menaphon* motive is the more fundamental, *The Thracian Wonder* is a fairly even compound of *Menaphon* and *Orlando*; for the latter not only provides the chief substance for the comic sub-plot, but influences the main-plot in significant and fructifying ways, such deviations from the *Menaphon* material as occur

¹⁵ Cf. also "Sardanapalus," II, i, 14-17:—

"But oh! thou true Sun!
The burning oracle of all that live,
As fountain of all life, and symbol of
Him who bestows it. . . ."

¹ Greene's "*Menaphon*" and "*The Thracian Wonder*."

²The Relation of "*The Thracian Wonder*" to Greene's "*Menaphon*," *Modern Language Review*, October, 1906.

³It should be said that Mr. Brereton has called general attention to resemblance between the ravings of Palemon and those of Orlando, though the point was not developed and the larger resemblances between the plays were not noted.

being almost invariably in the direction of closer resemblance to the *Orlando*. All three plots agree in having a king accuse his daughter wrongly for her love and drive her from his court, as also in her taking the guise of a shepherdess, her later being proved innocent, being forgiven by her father and being restored to her lover (or husband). It is the *Orlando*, however, not *Menaphon* which, as in *The Thracian Wonder*, makes the lover the scion of a royal house, so that any wrong done him has political consequences, and must be answered for by one state to another; and, indeed, a considerable proportion of the dramatic complication in *The Thracian Wonder* results from the adoption of this device. Thus Radagon, who has been secretly married to the king's daughter Ariadne, is not, as in the case of Maximus in *Menaphon*, an obscure shepherd whose base birth wins the king's scorn, but like Orlando, a prince who, fired by tales of the lady's beauty, has braved all dangers and difficulties to win her hand. There is close resemblance also between their proud and princely avowals of their allegiance to their love. So too, in both cases, when wrongs are visited upon them, ambassadors come to demand redress, and there is even considerable resemblance in the more trivial details of the scenes where the latter present themselves:—in each instance they arrive somewhat confusedly without guides or ceremony, and are forced to wander about in order to discover the whereabouts of the king whom they seek. Their wrongs are presented, too, in much the same way in both plays,—these scenes being, of course, lacking in *Menaphon*, because there the lover is obscurely born—and in each case the sovereign offers full redress and ends the audience amicably, although in *The Thracian Wonder* the action is drawn out to include some preliminary resistance of their demands on the king's part. It is evident that the author of *The Thracian Wonder* recognized in the *Orlando* motive here a helpful suggestion for multiplying and quickening the dramatic activities provided for his main-plot by the *Menaphon*.

It is in the comic sub-plot, however, that the contribution of the *Orlando* is most evident. The madness of the *Orlando* hero is diverted to this plot and becomes its central interest, although used in combination with the motive duplicated

from the main-plot, of a lady scorning her shepherd lover. This lover, Palemon, like Orlando, goes mad for love and is watched over by his brother, Tityrus, in much the same half-affectionate, half-amused spirit as that which Orgalio shows towards Orlando. Both guardians at times find their task too difficult and hire clowns to help them divert their charges. In both plays, too, the clowns rehearse the vagaries of the madmen, then tease and anger them by levity, later get beaten by the madmen and themselves complain of ill usage. In each play, too, the clown pretends to be the madman's lady, deceiving him into the utterance of compliments and endearing terms; in each the madman fights in the mistaken belief that his lady has been stolen, talking meanwhile in high mythological strain of the wrong done him and the vengeance he will wreak upon her enemies and his, and alarming his friends for their safety, as well as his own, since he mistakes his friends for his imaginary foes. As in the *Orlando*, too, the madman in *The Thracian Wonder* is healed by the ministrations of a woman, and in spite of the greater elaborateness of the *Orlando* scene of healing, the general contrivance and handling of the two situations and the conduct of the patient are much the same—he is drowsy, murmurs dizzily and confusedly, feels vaguely at first the spell of the music, then rouses to full consciousness and recognition, receiving the assurance of his lady's love and all other explanations necessary to his full happiness and understanding. Certainly there is not much in the comic sub-plot of *The Thracian Wonder* which cannot, either by identity or by close resemblance, be traced to the *Orlando Furioso*.

There is one scene in the sub-plot of *The Thracian Wonder*, however, which is, not only in material but in mood and movement, so intimately like that of Greene's *James IV*, act iv, sc. 3, that one cannot escape the inference of some direct connection between the two, although the situation is of the more or less conventional sort. In *James IV*, the waggish Slipper making ready to charm the fair sex, is deep in discussion with tailor, shoemaker and cutler, all busy devising his adornment, while he exults in the thought of his triumphs. Andrew, a cleverer wag, seeing him in this glib state of exaltation, brings forward certain

merrymakers to divert Slipper's attention by music and dancing, and then, while Slipper is absorbed with these, picks the latter's pocket and runs off with all the money wherewith tailor, shoemaker and cutler are to be paid, thus shattering the hopes of the would-be gallant, who soon discovers his loss, cries out at first in angry distress, and then rallies into more cheerful thoughts of punishing his deceiver. So in *The Thracian Wonder* (iv, 2), Antimon, the merry-hearted vain old shepherd, decked for feminine conquest, considers this or that detail of his toilet, and calls urgently for a mirror, inquiring anxiously as to the effect of his garments and boasting that he is at last to prove irresistible to the lady of his heart. Meanwhile, his companion, the clown, seeing him entirely open to flattery, suggests that if he wears this bravery now before he sees his lady, he will be hopelessly beset by other fair ones, and so persuades him to exchange it temporarily for a simpler garb. No sooner is this done, however, than the clown snatches up the finery and runs away, leaving Antimon, like Slipper, to rail, at first in indignant despair, and then good-naturedly with threats of vengeance.

Another and perhaps less significant parallel obtains between *Alphonsus* and *The Thracian Wonder*. In the first, the hero, before he will help Belinus fight for the crown of Aragon, extorts from the unsuspecting monarch the promise that he himself may claim as his own whatever he captures in battle, meaning to lay hold of the actual Aragonese crown. Then with surprising accuracy and promptness he carries out his intentions, and at once reports to Belinus, diadem in hand, to have his rights of capture confirmed. In vain Belinus insists that his promise admits of no such interpretation; the triumphant Alphonsus will brook no denial. In the corresponding scene in *The Thracian Wonder*, Serena declares all favor to Palemon's love impossible until he gives solemn promise to perform a certain unexplained task. Then when the promise is given, she explains that he must not speak of love again or even look upon her without her consent, thus turning his oath to his own undoing in the very cause on which he is bent; and no amount of protest will bend her from claiming the fulfilment of his promise.

In the general stylistic features of the play, too,

as well as in actual material and plot handling, there is a good deal which is suggestive of Greene. Indeed, nearly all the tendencies ascribed to him by Grosart and Prof. Collins may be detected here—not only the more Marlowesque features of the pseudo-historical main-plot, the absurd array of kings, the prevalence of mythological allusions, the bombastic declamatory speech, but the effective lightness and popular appeal of the comic subplot, the genuine pleasure in the rustic setting, the recurrence of the "repentant note" and various other, though less marked traits.

Nor is it difficult to cite parallel passages which not only follow similar lines of thought and scene handling, but move with a similar sweep and spirit of rhythm. Take, for example, the passage in which Palemon woos Serena (*The Thracian Wonder*) in comparison with Edward's declaration of love to Margret in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*:

The Thracian Wonder, I, 2.

Pal.

"I'll pluck the moon from
forth the starry throne,
And place thee there to
light the lower orb;
And if stern Pluto offer to
embrace thee,
I'll pitch him headlong
into Phlegethon.

Or if thou'lt live, and be
the shepherd's queen,
I'll fetch Senessa from the
down of swans
To be thy handmaid: the
Phrygian boy,
That Jove so doated on,
shall be thy page,
And serve thee on his
knee:

Thou shalt be guarded
round with jolly swains
Such as was Luna's love
on Latmus' hill:

Thy music shall surpass the
Argus'-tamer;
If this content thee not,
I'll dive into the bottom of
the deep,
And fetch thee bracelets of
the orient pearl;
The treasure of the sea
shall all be thine."

*Friar Bacon and Friar
Bungay*, III, 1

Edward.

"I tell thee, Peggie, I will
haue thy loues;
Edward or none shall con-
quer Margret.

In Frigats bottomd with
rich Sethin planks,
Topt with the loftie firs of
Libanon,

Stemd and incast with
burnisht Iuorie,
And ouerlaid with plates of
Persian wealth,
Like *Thetis* shalt thou
wanton on the waues,
And draw the Dolphins to
thy louely eyes,
To daunce laoltas in the
purple streames;

Sirens, with harpes and
siluer psalteries,
Shall waight with musicke
at thy frigots stem,
And entertaine faire Mar-
gret with their laies.

England and Englands
wealth shall wait on thee,
Brittaine shall bend vnto
her princes loue,
And doe due homage to
thine excellence,
If thou wilt be but Ed-
wards Margret."

One must remember, of course, that parallel passages lend themselves, with suspicious haste, to almost any theory set forth and that contradictory theories easily take shape where one emphasizes likeness and another difference. There is general resemblance to Greene, however, and considerable suggestion of the more elusive, subtler sort in one of the lyrics of *The Thracian Wonder*, Palemon's song to Serena (I, 2) :

"Art thou gone in haste?
 I'll not forsake thee;
 Runn'st thou ne'er so fast
 I'll o'ertake thee:
 O'er the dales, o'er the downs,
 Through the green meadows,
 From the fields, through the towns,
 To the dim shadows.

 All along the plain
 To the low fountains,
 Up and down again
 From the high mountains, &c."

Certainly Greene might have written this so far as spirit and movement go. Moreover, while the play bears various marks of the earlier Elizabethan drama, it is clearly not by any well-known dramatist of that time—Kyd, Marlowe, Peele, Lyly, or any of the rest—so that it would seem that if any of that group wrote it, Greene was the man.

And yet when all is said, one cannot feel that the play—at least in its present form—is Greene's. It is hard to conceive of one dramatist as borrowing so intimately and so extensively in detail from another, as a different author for *The Thracian Wonder* must necessarily have borrowed from Greene; but it is perhaps even more improbable that Greene would thus fully have duplicated his own material, fond as he was of repeating himself, and it has been the chief purpose of this paper to show that *The Thracian Wonder* in its plot is practically compounded from Greene's accepted works. There may be passages, too, where Greene's versification at its best, his purest lyric quality and his most musical touch could be granted, but there are many more in which he may not be traced in any stage of his development. It is, indeed, for the most part better than his worst and worse than his best, being stricter in its observance of certain simple metrical proprieties,

much fuller of broken and run-on lines and in other points of technique more skilfully constructed, but lacking, except in rare instances, in a certain native limpidity and freshness which gratify us in Greene's verse in spite of its frequent crudity.

Indeed, it is largely because the play as a whole is not redolent of Greene's spirit that we must look elsewhere for its author. It lacks the frank exuberance of his early Elizabethan ardor, his joy in his many kings and their marvellous doings, his unrestrained naïve delight in what a later age came to smile at half cynically. Marvels like his do come to pass in the play, but they come as the cold dramatic conventions of the time and not as the natural expression of a time when faith and imagination were young. The kings talk as gloriously as did Alphonsus or Tamburlaine, but they do not believe in themselves, because the author does not believe in them, and the sublimity of real self-trust which inevitably commanded a certain respect for the earlier heroes gives way in our minds to an amused contempt. The age of enthusiasm is dead. Indeed, not even the lovers escape the general infection. The serious ones are past genuine passion and with most of them raillery alternates with some slight surrender to feeling. The unquestioning devotion of a Dorothy or a Margret has given way to a certain piquant coquetry and we look in vain for the real tenderness of a love like that between Lacie and Margret.

What, then, must we conclude? Chiefly this—that the play—in its present form at least—is not Greene's. Such a conclusion leaves open a choice between two possibilities of inference:

1. That it was gotten together by Greene, and later completed or revised by some other dramatist, or other dramatists working in conjunction.
2. That it was rather deliberately compounded from Greene's plays by a close student and great admirer of them.

As to date, the play in its finished form seems to the present writer to belong to the period at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably that of the earlier decadence of the drama, somewhere between 1600 and 1610. My attention has been called to the fact that (in *T. W.* iv, 2) Antimon,

one of the characters in the play, speaks of "old Menaphon," in a sense which must be interpreted as "well known" or "popular," since Menaphon is distinctly represented by Greene as a youth. The term "old" was in that day somewhat rarely used in this sense, but it is found several times in Shakespeare and so may be thus construed here.⁴ If it is so construed, it suggests that the play builds on some lapse of time since the appearance of the romance, and upon an accumulated popularity of the hero of the latter. This, of course, gives no basis for exact inference as to the date of our play, but it at least suggests that the latter may not have followed very close on the romance. That it belongs to a time anywhere approaching the date of its publication, no one will be at all likely to believe.

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ON THE EDITING OF CHAUCER'S MINOR POEMS.

Among the manuscripts which preserve to us the shorter poems of Chaucer, three are of peculiar interest. They are all contained in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and are marked respectively Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, and Tanner 346; their Chaucerian texts are printed by the Chaucer Society, and are thus accessible to every student.

Examination of the contents of these MSS. shows a relationship even more striking than editors of the separate poems have noted. Tanner and Bodley, the two smaller MSS., agree very closely in their contents, and their list is paralleled with equal closeness by the first portion of the larger Fairfax volume. All three are, however, independently transcribed, though evidence shows that while Fairfax and Bodley are derived almost entire from one common original (which I shall call FB), Tanner was copied from another codex, either the ancestor or the sister of FB. Of the three Tanner, written by several hands, is the poorest, but Fairfax and Bodley, each written by

one man, are equally careful transcriptions of an original as good as they; while the excellence of their texts shows that the ultimate ancestor of all three codices (which I shall call Oxford), must have been as sound as its worthiest descendants, Tanner's degenerations being of its own introduction.

The lost Fairfax-Bodley, a codex containing at least 17 poems, can therefore be reconstructed with clearness, and its texts of the Minor Poems established; while the lost ancestor Oxford, containing at least 11 entries, can also be reconstructed with a high degree of probability, unless proof of contamination with another type should be adduced.

For two poems by Chaucer this group-solidarity is very important, the *Book of the Duchess* and the *House of Fame*. The former poem remains to us in these three Oxford MSS. alone, the latter only in Fairfax, Bodley, and the degenerate Pepys 2006, see *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xix, 196. An editor of either of these poems or a student of Chaucer's four-beat verse should therefore reconstruct either Oxford or Fairfax-Bodley as his text; but when he has accomplished this, he has obtained the readings of only one type of MSS. Should emendation seem necessary, it must be made from knowledge of the usual trend of error in FB or in Oxford, and that knowledge can only be obtained from a reconstruction of all the texts contained in the lost codices.

The frequent procedure of editors has been a spring from the existing copies to a lost archetype "X"; but in this Oxford Group of MSS. we have material for another mode of treatment, the distinct conception of each individual copyist and his weaknesses. Were full noting of the scribe's peculiarities carried out also for the remarkable Cambridge MS. Gg iv 27, the direct antagonist of the Oxford type, we should have material for a final opinion on the text of one of the Minor Poems, the *Parlement of Foules*; at least, we should be better able to judge which type may have preserved Chaucer's retouchings. Cambridge's possession of the unique version of the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* is balanced by Oxford's preservation of the *Book of the Duchess* and the *House of Fame*; Oxford's inclusion of non-Chaucerian poems is paralleled by Cambridge's inclusion of the *Temple of Glass*, etc.;

⁴I am indebted to Dr. Percy W. Long, formerly of Bryn Mawr College, for this explanation.

and if we assert Chaucerian retouchings of the *Parlement of Foules* for Cambridge, what shall we do with the peculiar *Anelida* readings of Oxford, part of which Skeat adopts and part of which he passes by, with a sureness of instinct especially his own?

The great value of the Oxford Group lies, then, in the clearness with which each step of its descent can be traced, and the certainty with which we can work back to a MS. two degrees nearer Chaucer than the existing volumes. The value of Cambridge is still unproven. It contains that version of the prologue to the *Legend* which according to much recent argument is the later, copies of the *Troilus* and of the *Canterbury Tales* which are not of the earlier type in either case (this I must elsewhere establish for the *Canterbury Tales*), a copy of Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* which Schick thinks has been altered by other hands, and a text of the *Parlement of Foules* which Koch treats as containing corrections direct from Chaucer. There is no parallelization of the two types, Oxford and Cambridge, except in this one poem; but an assertion such as Koch's is untenable until Cambridge as a personality has been conjured up before students and the contact of his MS. with Chaucer proved. Until the man Gg has been realized for us on the one hand and the ample material for the reconstruction of Oxford used on the other, we shall still speak in hypotheses regarding the text of the Minor Poems.

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SIREN-MERMAID.

In the twelfth book of the *Odyssey*, the Sirens are somewhat vaguely described as two creatures that sit in an island-meadow, and enchant men with their clear song. In Euripides, *Helena*, 172, they are "winged maidens" (πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες). In various other classical writers, and regularly in ancient Greek and Roman art, they are part woman, part bird. See Anaxilas, quoted in Athenaeus XIII, 558 C; Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.*, IV, 898-9; Ovid, *Metam.*, V, 553; Hera-

clitus, *De Incredibil.*, 14; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 125 and 141; Pliny, *N. H.*, X, 49, 70; Pausanias, IX, 343; Ausonius, *Griph. Tern. Num.*, 21; Servius, ad *Aen.*, V, 864; Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp.*, III, 254; Fulgentius, *Mythol.*, II, 8; Isidore, *Orig.*, XI, 3, 30; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, III, 1642 ff.; J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*, pp. 146 ff.; G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst*, pp. 93 ff. In Plato's Vision of Er, *Rep.*, 617B, "upon each of the circles of the spindle is mounted a Siren" (ἐφ' ἑκάστου βεβηκέναι Σειρήνα). And the writers of the Septuagint felt free to substitute "siren" for "ostrich," *Micah*, I, 8, καὶ πένθος ὡς θυγατέρων σειρήνων.

In our earlier English poetry the Siren is regularly a mermaid. In his *Old English Miscellany* (EETS. 49), Dr. R. Morris prints a Bestiary which comes from a MS. of about the middle of the thirteenth century. Under the heading 'Natura Sirene,' it describes the "mereman" as "half man and half fis." See, also, the *Gest Historiale* of the Destruction of Troy, 13272-3,

fro the navell netherward noght but a fische
And made as a maidon fro the myddes vp;

Chaucer, *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 450 ff.; *Romaunt of the Rose*, 682-4,

Though we mermaydens clepe hem here
In English, as in our usaunce,
Men clepen hem sereyns in Fraunce;

Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, I, 487-91,

Of body bothe and of visage
Lik unto wommen of yong age
Up fro the Navele on hih thei be,
And doun benethe, as men mai se,
Thei bere of fisses the figure;

Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors*, III, 2. 45-47; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II, 12, 31. Lyly's Syren, *Loves Metamorphosis*, IV, 2. 30, is "halfe fish, halfe flesh." In Boethius, *Consol.*, I, prosa I, Chaucer translates "sirenae" by "mermaids." In Alexander Barclay's third Egloge, "Mayr-maydes singing, abusing with their song," are mentioned among the dangers of the sea. Robert Greene speaks, in his *Mamillia*, of "Ulysses and the Mermaides," and so does Sir John Davies, in his *Soule of Man*. In William Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, we have a return to classical au-

thority: "two Syrens, as they are described by Hyginus and Servius, with their upper parts like women to the navell, and the rest like a hen." But Shirley could still say, *Love's Cruelty*, iv, 2,

His mermaids cannot win me with their songs.

This shift of meaning—from "part woman, part bird" to "half woman, half fish"—is sometimes explained as being due to uniting the classical myth of the Sirens with the Teutonic and Northern superstition of the mermaid.¹ But it may not be necessary to assume any Teutonic influence. In French, Italian and Spanish literature, the Siren seems to have been always part fish.² So, for example, in Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, II, 4. 36,

Una donzella è quel che sopra appare,
Ma quel che sotto l'acqua si dimena,
Tutto è di pesce;

in Gervaise, *Bestiaire*, 306-7,

Feme est par desus le lonbril,
Et poisons desoz la ce[i]nture;³

and in Wace, *Li Romans de Brut*, 737,

Poisson sunt del nombril aval.

See, also, Boccaccio, *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, VII, 20, "Has dicit Ovidius . . . et corpus ad umbilicum usque foemineum; abinde infra pisces existantia" (which is not at all what Ovid says); Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Troiana*, XXXII, "Sunt eis ab umbilico superius formae femineae virgineum vultum habentes. ab umbilico vero citra omnem formam piscis observant";⁴ Bartholomew Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, xcvi, "And Physiologus saith it is a beast of the sea, wonderly shapen as a maid from the navel upward and a fish from the navel downward";⁵

¹ So R. W. Bond, *Complete Works of John Lyly*, III, 568.

² Dante's Siren "sovra i piè distorta," *Purg.* XIX, 8, is hardly an exception; his description seems to have been affected by the story of Circe. For some modern stories of Sirens who are part fish see Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Paris, 1905, II, 31 ff.

³ *Romania*, vol. I, p. 430.

⁴ This is probably the source of Gower's description "which in the tale of Troie I finde," and of the description in the *Gest Historiale* of the Destruction of Troy. Benoît de Sainte-Maure mentions the Sirens (28706 ff.), but does not describe their form.

⁵ R. Steele, *Medieval Lore*, London, 1893, p. 136.

and the *Liber Monstrorum*, published (from a Paris ms. of the tenth century) in M. Haupt's *Opuscula* (1876), II, 218 ff., "et a capite usque ad umbilicum sunt corpore virginali et humano generi simillimae, squamosas tamen piscium caudas habent."

We thus have the ancient tradition as to the form of the Sirens as late as the seventh century, while as early as the tenth century we find them described as part fish. The results so far obtained happen to agree with the result of Baumeister's study of the monuments, namely, that from the seventh century on the Sirens are represented with fish tails, after the manner of the Tritons, and still live on in popular imagination as mermaids.⁶ Whether the classical myth of the Tritons is sufficient to explain the transition, is perhaps uncertain. If it is not sufficient, possibly some "Germanist" can indicate just where any Teutonic or Northern influence came in.

In the passage already quoted from Bartholomew Anglicus, the statement that the Siren is a mermaid is given on the authority of 'Physiologus.' And the same authority is mentioned by Chaucer, *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 450-52:

Song merier than the mermayde in the see;
For Physiologus seith sikerly,
How that they singen wel and merily.⁷

But it should not be inferred from such passages that the original Greek treatise entitled 'Physiologus' described the Siren as part fish. The fourth century Greek version ("Epiphanius") does not mention the Sirens at all.⁸ Neither does the Armenian version published by Pitra⁹—a version based apparently on Greek mss. of the fourth and fifth centuries—nor the eighth century Latin version published by Cardinal Mai. And various later versions describe the Siren as part bird. The Greek version (thirteenth century)

⁶ "so sind sie im Mittelalter (vom 7. Jahrhundert ab) nach Art der Tritonweiber mit Fischschwänzen gebildet worden, und leben so noch jetzt in der Vorstellung der europäischen Seevölker als Meerweibchen."

⁷ Dr. Morris, *EETS*, 49, p. vii, sees in this passage a quotation from a particular Bestiary, "probably from the Latin version (*mirie ge singeth this mere*). But this is at least doubtful.

⁸ Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, 43, 517 ff.

⁹ *Spicilegium Solesmense*, III, 374-90.

given by Pitra, III, 350, has τὸ δὲ ἡμῶν, πετεινοῦ ἔχουσι μορφήν. The Latin version (eleventh century) edited by Heider, p. 22, has "extrema parte usque ad pedes volatilis imaginem tenent." And an O. H. G. version (twelfth century) published in Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, I, 25, says "dann en unze an die fūzze nidine sint si gitan also uogile." Even the *Fisiologus a Thetbaldo Italico compositus* printed by Dr. Morris as the "original" of his *Bestiary* has

Ex umbilico sunt ut pulcherrima virgo,
Quodque facit monstrum volucres sunt inde deorsum.⁹

'Physiologus,' then, renders very little assistance toward tracing the literary tradition, being quoted, as we have seen, in support of two quite different opinions. Indeed, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the new opinion had not yet completely displaced the old, men could quote the same weighty authority for the statement that the Siren is at once part bird and part fish. Thus Hugo de S. Victore, *De Bestiis*, II, 32, has, "Syrenas tres fingunt fuisse ex parte virgines, et ex parte pisces, habentes squamas et caudam piscinam."¹⁰ Philippe de Thaün, *Bestiaire*, 1365, says,

E de feme at faiture
Entresqu'a la ceinture,
E les piez de falcun
E cue de peissun ;

and Pierre of Picardy, "iii manières de seraine sont, dont les ii sont moitié feme moitié poisson ; et l'autre moitié feme moitié oiseaux."¹¹ Compare, also, Guillaume le Clerc, *Le Bestiaire*, 1055-9 :

Car de la ceinture en amont
Est la plus bele ren del mont
A guise de femme formee.
L'autre partie est figuree
Come poisson ou com oisel,

and the thirteenth century *Image du Monde*,

⁹ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 171, 1217 ff., prints this same *Bestiary* from a different ms.

¹⁰ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 177, 78.

¹¹ Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges*, II, 172. Like Gervaise and Heider's Latin *Physiologus*, Pierre claims the authority of Johanz Boche d'or: "selon le latin dou livre que Phisiologes, uns bons clers d'Athenes, traïta et Jehans Crisostomus en choisi, en les natures des bestes et des oisiaus." But he has in mind a quite different form of Siren.

Austres i a c'ont de puceles
Testes et cors, dusqu' as mameles ;
Detrez poissons, eles d'oisiaus,
Et est lors chans molt dous et bials.¹²

Brunetto Latini has, "Sereine, ce dient li autor, sont iii qui avoient semblance de feme dou chief jusque as cuisses ; mais de celui leu en aval avoient semblance de poisson, et avoient eles et ongles" (*Li Livres dou Trésor*, I, 5. 137). And there is another composite picture as late as Alciati's *Emblemata*,

Absque alis volucres, et cruribus absque puellas,
Rostro absque et pisces, qui tamen ore canant.¹³

Here it may be noted that another line in Alciati's description,

Illicitum est mulier, quae in piscem desinit atrum,
is a very clear echo of Horace, *Ars Poet.*, 3-4 :
ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.

Another peculiarity of the modern Siren, which has suggested to some a Teutonic or Northern influence, is her golden hair. Lyly's Syren has "golden lockes," and sings, "with a Glasse in her hand and a Combe," *Loves Metamorphosis*, IV, 2. Compare Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors*, III, 2. 48,

Spread o'er the silver waves thy golden hairs,

and Ben Jonson's Syrens, in *Neptune's Triumph*, "laying forth their tresses all along Upon the glassy waves." One thinks inevitably of the golden hair and sweet voice of Heine's Lorelei ; but the Lorelei herself seems to be a rather modern fancy.¹⁴ An older parallel is Boiardo's Siren, *Sonetti e Canzone*, CLXXIX, 41,

Con li ochii arguti e con le chiome bionde.

¹² G. Kastner, *Les Sirènes*, Paris, 1858, p. 42. On p. 66 Kastner quotes from another thirteenth century ms.: "Seraines sont uns monstres de mer qui ont cors de fame et coue de poison et ongles daigles."

¹³ Lyons edition, 1564, p. 132.

¹⁴ See H. Köchly's remark, quoted by Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang zu Homers Odysee* (1890): "Aus den süßen Stimmen der Seirenen ist, beiläufig bemerkt, erst in diesem Jahrhundert die angebliche Volkssage von der Loreley gemacht worden"; and Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon*, XII, 712 (1905): "Die Sage von der Zauberin oder Nixe Lorelei . . . wurde von Kl. Brentano um 1800 erfunden."

And Sannazaro has "auricomae Sirenis," *Ecl.*, iv, 60. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that various classical sea-nymphs have golden hair: ¹⁵ Philoxenus, 6 B., χρυσοβόστρυχε Γαλάτεια, Virgil, *Geor.*, iv, 339, "flava Lycorías," iv, 352, "(Arethusae) flavum caput." In Bacchylides, xvi, 107, the daughters of Nereus wear "fillets of woven gold" (χρυσέοπλοκοι ταινίαι). In Tibullus, i, 5, 43-46, it is implied that Thetis was golden-haired:

Non facit hoc verbis, facie tenerisque lacertis
devovet et flavis nostra puella comis.
Talis ad Haemonium Nereis Pelea quondam
vectast frenato caerula pisce Thetis.

Moreover, Virgil's sea-nymphs have flowing locks, "caesariem effusae nitidam," *Geor.*, iv, 337, and Ovid definitely mentions the combing of Galatea's hair, "pectendos praebet Galatea capillos," *Met.* xiii, 737. The poets of the Renaissance have helped to popularize such classical fancies. Sannazaro has "flavos resoluta capillos Cymodoce," *Ecl.*, i, 84, and even "flavicomae Amphitritae," i, 99. Pontanus applies Virgil's "flavum caput" to his water-nymph, *Meteororum Liber*,¹⁶ and Baif's Naiad has "beaux cheveux blonds," *Éclogue*, xix. So has Barahona de Soto's nymph, *Égloga*, i,

en las ondas cristalinas
Mostrastes tu cabeza orlada de oro.

In Garcilaso de la Vega's second sonnet, which is a paraphrase of Virgil, *Geor.*, iv, 345 ff., the nymphs have "rubias cabezas," and in Camoens, *Egloga* vii, Galatea has "cabellos louros."

The Homeric Sirens appeared to Odysseus in a "windless calm," (γαλήνη νηνεμία) *Od.* xii, 168; the Argonauts approached their home in a gentle breeze, νῆα δ' εὐκράης ἄνεμος φέρεν, Apollonius Rhodius, iv, 891; and so did Aeneas and his company, *Aen.*, v, 848, "salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos." And the most characteristic feature of the whole classical tradition is their sweet song. So Hesiod, as reported in Eustathius, 1710, 40, Ἡσίοδος ἐμυθεύσατο ὑπὸ Σαυήνων καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θέλγεσθαι, a passage with which

¹⁵ Cp. G. Kastner, *Les Sirènes*, p. 43: "La plupart des familles aquatiques qui peuplent les légendes formées sous l'empire de l'odinisme et des autres cultes du Nord tenaient encore de plus près, à vrai dire, aux familles des Nymphes et des Tritons qu'au petit groupe isolé des Sirènes classiques."

¹⁶ Venice edition, 1518, p. 133.

we may compare Shakespeare, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, ii, 1, 150,

And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,

and Milton, *Comus*, 252,

Who, as they sung, would take the prisoned soul
And lap it in Elysium: Scylla wept,
And chid her barking waves into attention,
And fell Charybdis murmured soft applause.

The modern Siren, however, is often regarded as a sign of storm,¹⁷ and she sometimes utters a doleful strain. Compare G. Pascoli, *La Sirena*,

dal mare nebbioso un lamento
si leva: il tuo canto, o Sirena,

Gil Vicente, *Triunfo del Invierno*,

Haré cantar las sirenas
Y peligrar á las naves, etc.,

and Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, Prosa 12, "una Sirena, la quale sovra uno scoglio amaramente piangeva."¹⁸ This double change was probably effected in the middle ages; certainly, the ancient story had been altered before the days of Bartholomew Anglicus, "and this wonderful beast is glad and merry in tempest, and sad and heavy in fair weather,"¹⁹ and Philippe de Thaün, *Bestiaire*, 1361,

Serena en mer hante,
Cuntre tempeste chante
E plurē en bel tens,
Itels est sis talenz.

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¹⁷ Cp. P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, ii, 35.

¹⁸ Shakespeare's "Siren tears," *Sonn.*, cxix, and perhaps the line at the beginning of T. Lodge's *Rosalynde*, "The Syrens teares doe threaten mickle griefe," may be due to the Euhemeristic interpretation of the ancient myth which made the Sirens hetairai or meretrices. Ben Jonson has, "The heathen man could stop his ears with wax against the harlot of the sea," *Bartholomew Fair*, iii, 1. St. Jerome says that this interpretation is as old as Pseudo-Plautus (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 27, 319). It is repeated in Heraclitus, *De Incredibil.*, 14, and often later, Servius, *Aen.*, v, 864, Fulgentius, *Mythol.*, ii, 8, Isidore, *Orig.*, xi, 3, 30, Boccaccio, *Geneal. Deor. Gentil.*, vii, 20, etc. One or two other classical passages (Euripides, *Hel.*, 169, Seneca, *Hercl. Oet.*, 190) and the sculptured Sirens on various Attic tombs suggest a still different conception of these creatures, or a different function. See G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst*, pp. 8 ff., 171 ff.

¹⁹ R. Steele, *Medieval Lore*, London, 1893, p. 136.

NOTES ON HEINE.

I.

The general Ossianic character of the passage, *Elster* III, 63-65, is self-evident. Commentators¹ have, however, universally taken the view that these ecstatic speeches represent a parody of the original, a sort of "Ossian travestiert." As a matter of fact, the whole apostrophe to the moon (*Elster* III, 64, ll. 20-40) is a literal² translation of the opening paragraphs of Ossian's *Dar-thula*, as will appear from the following exhibit in parallel columns of Macpherson's original edition (1762) and of the passage in Heine:

OSSIAN (London, 1762),
p. 155.

Daughter of heaven, fair art thou! the silence of thy face is pleasant. Thou comest forth in loveliness: the stars attend thy blue steps in the east. The clouds rejoice in thy presence, O moon, and brighten their dark-brown sides. Who is like thee in heaven, daughter of the night? The stars are ashamed in thy presence, and turn aside their green, sparkling eyes.—Whither dost thou retire from thy course, when the darkness of thy countenance grows? Hast thou thy hall like Ossian? Dweldest thou in the shadow of grief? Have thy sisters fallen from heaven? Are they who rejoiced with thee, at night, no more?—Yes! they have

HEINE, *Elster* III, 64.

„Schön bist du, Tochter des Himmels! Holdselig ist deines Antlitzes Ruhe! Du wandelst einher in Lieblichkeit! Die Sterne folgen deinen blauen Pfaden im Osten. Bei deinem Anblick erfreuen sich die Wolken, und es lichten sich ihre düstern Gestalten. Wer gleicht dir am Himmel, Erzeugte der Nacht? Beschämt in deiner Gegenwart sind die Sterne und wenden ab die grünfunkelnden Augen. Wohin, wenn des Morgens dein Antlitz erbleicht, entfliehst du von deinem Pfade? Hast du gleich mir deine Halle? Wohnst du im Schatten der Wehmut? Sind deine Schwestern vom Himmel gefallen? Sie, die

fallen, fair light! and thou dost often retire to mourn.—But thou thyself shalt fail, one night; and leave thy blue path in heaven. The stars will then lift their green heads: they who were ashamed in thy presence, will rejoice.

Thou art now clothed with thy brightness: look from thy gates in the sky. Burst the cloud, O wind, that the daughter of night may look forth, that the shaggy mountains may brighten, and the ocean roll its blue waves, in light.

freudig mit dir die Nacht durchwaliten, sind sie nicht mehr? Ja, sie fielen herab, o schönes Licht, und du verbirgst dich oft, sie zu betrauern. Doch einst wird kommen die Nacht, und du, auch du bist vergangen und hast deine blauen Pfade dort oben verlassen. Dann erheben die Sterne ihre grünen Häupter; die einst deine Gegenwart beschämt, sie werden sich freuen. Doch jetzt bist du gekleidet in deiner Strahlenpracht und schaut herab aus den Toren des Himmels. Zerreißt die Wolken, o Winde, damit die Erzeugte der Nacht hervorzuleuchten vermag, und die buschigen Berge erglänzen, und das Meer seine schäumenden Wogen rolle in Licht!"

The original edition of 1762 and that of 1773, reprinted also in the later issues, differ considerably, for *Dar-thula* at least, and it can readily be shown that the passage in Heine is based on an edition preceding 1773, i. e., on the text of 1762. The decisive variants in this connection are:

- (a) 1762. [rejoice in thy presence,] O moon, and brighten
1773. O moon! They brighten
- (b) 1762. daughter of the night
1773. light of the silent night
- (c) 1762. presence, and turn aside their green, sparkling eyes.
1773. presence. They turn away their sparkling eyes.
- (d) 1762. lift their green heads
1773. lift their heads

¹Buchheim, p. 120: The speeches of the two romantic youths are, of course, nothing but a satire on the sentimental poetry of former days, which had a tinge of Ossianic eccentricity about it.—Burnett, p. 89: HALLE. Possibly a play upon the word is intended, with reference to the University of Halle. In these high-flown speeches Heine evidently means to parody the Ossianic style.—Gregor, pp. 168 and 169: 9 ff. A clever parody of Ossian, worth comparing with the original. . . . 7. HALLE: notice the play on the word.

²Hast du gleich mir deine Halle = *Hast thou thy hall like Ossian*, the ecstatic youth identifying himself with the poet.

The question naturally presents itself whether Heine's version is his own or a transcription of some one of the published German translations of Ossian. Before attempting to answer this question it will be advisable to examine another part of the passage under consideration, *Elster* III, 65, ll. 13-19:

["Lebe wohl! Ich fühle, dass ich verblute.] Warum weckst du mich, Frühlingsluft? Du

buhlst und sprichst: ich betaue dich mit Tropfen des Himmels. Doch die Zeit meines Welkens its nahe, nahe der Sturm, der meine Blätter herabstört! Morgen wird der Wanderer kommen, kommen, der mich sah in meiner Schönheit, ringsum wird sein Auge im Felde mich suchen und wird mich nicht finden."

These lines are from Ossian's *Berrathon*, the original, in the edition of 1762, reading as follows:

"The flower hangs its heavy head, waving, at times, to the gale. Why dost thou awake me, O gale, it seems to say, I am covered with the drops of heaven? The time of my fading is near, and the blast that shall scatter my leaves. To-morrow shall the traveller come, he that saw me in my beauty shall come: his eyes will search the field, but they shall not find me?"

Heine did not, however, take these lines from Ossian, but from Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*,³ where they form the last of the fragments of Ossianic poetry that Werther reads to Lotte.⁴ It is more than likely that even the introductory *Lebe wohl!* which does not find a counterpart in *Berrathon*, is suggested by Werther's "*Lotte! Lotte! nur noch Ein Wort! ein Lebewohl!— . . . Lebe wohl! Lotte! auf ewig lebe wohl!*" In so far as the present passage is concerned, the parody, not of style but of situation, affects *Werthers Leiden* rather than Ossian.

³ Weimar edition, Vol. 19, pp. 175-6.

⁴ Tombo, in his scholarly monograph, *Ossian in Germany*, p. 21, calls attention to the fact that Petersen's translation of Ossian (Tübingen, 1782 and 1808), here as in the *Songs of Selma*, likewise follows Goethe's *Werther*. That Heine's text is not, however, based on Petersen, is shown by a number of slight differences between them, differences that become intelligible by a reference to the body of variants given in the Weimar Edition. Petersen's text is that of E¹⁻², Leipzig, 1774, Heine's that of the later redaction of 1786. The only exception in the case of Petersen, "aber wird mich nicht finden" for the Goethean "und wird mich nicht finden," is clearly due to an effort to approximate more closely to Macpherson's "but they shall not find me," a natural tendency—observable also in the *Songs of Selma*—on the part of a translator who had the English Ossian before him. Heine's change of "ich betaue" to "ich betaue dich" is doubtless meant to remove what seemed a stylistic blemish, and the substitution of *doch* for *aber* in "Aber die Zeit meines Welkens ist nah" is perhaps to be explained on similar grounds.

In the case of the quotation from *Dar-thula*, no such Goethean origin can be traced. It remains, therefore, to compare the German translations of Ossian. The following have been examined:

1^a. Denis, 1st ed. (1768-69), as quoted by Herder in *Fragmente zu einer Archäologie des Morgenlandes*, Suphan, VI, 20.

1^b. Denis, 2nd ed. (1791-92).

2^a. Harold, 1st ed. (1775).

2^b. Harold, 2nd ed. (1782).

3. An anonymous edition, Wien (Wappler), 1784, a revision of Denis with reference to the English edition of 1773, as noted by Tombo, *Ossian in Germany*, p. 24.

4. Stollberg (1806).

5. Petersen, 2nd ed. (1808).

6. Ahlwardt (1811).

Apart from his citation of Denis noted above, Herder has himself twice tried his hand at these lines.

7. *Silbernes Buch*, p. 105 (1770), Suphan, xxv, 550.

8. *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (1782), Suphan, XI, 298.

Of these eight, or, counting the separate editions, ten different translations, Nos. 1^b, 2^a, 2^b, 3, 5, 6, are based⁵ on the text as found in the English edition of 1773, and are therefore ruled out as possible sources for Heine. Denis (1^a) bears not the remotest resemblance to Heine. Stollberg states⁶ that for *Dar-thula* he has based his rendering on Macpherson's earlier version, but in the case of at least one reading, *Tochter der schweigenden Nacht*, he follows the later text and this alone excludes him as a possible source for

⁵ In the case of Ahlwardt a curious, though probably accidental agreement with Heine is found in the phrase *seine schäumenden Wogen*. The correspondence is the more striking as Heine's English original had *blue waves*, whereas Ahlwardt's text had *white waves*, and it is the latter, rather than the former that would suggest *schäumend* to a translator.

⁶ Vol. II, p. 167, footnote: Ich habe Darthula früher als die andern ossianischen Gedichte, nach der englischen Ausgabe des Herrn Macpherson von 1765 übersezt. Alle andern nach der spätern von 1796. Nach Vergleichung beyder Ausgaben, kann ich mich nicht entschliessen, die neuere in Darthula vorzuziehn. Die ältere scheint mir einfältiger, kühner dithyrambischer, d. h. ossianischer.

the passage in question. Herder's earlier version (7) was not accessible to Heine, being first printed in Suphan. His later version (8), while also based on Macpherson's earlier text, has nothing in common with the lines in Heine.⁷

The result of the examination of the above named translations is accordingly wholly negative. Whether a comparison of the remaining translations,⁸ when they shall have become accessible, will prove more fruitful, seems open to serious doubt. If not, then Heine has either translated directly from an early English edition, or borrowed the passage, as in the case of the Berrathon lines, from a literary source that remains to be ascertained.

The remainder of the passage in Heine (*Elster* III, 63, l. 35—64, l. 16) is not Ossianic. While some Ossianic phrases are used, these are relatively unimportant, and the general tone, as *e. g.* in such an expression as "die schlafenden Städte der Menschen," is decidedly foreign to Ossian.

II.

While surveying (*Elster* III, 73) the various traditions that cluster around the figure of Ilse, Heine remarks:

Andere erzählen von der Liebe des Fräuleins Ilse und des Ritters von Westenberg eine hübsche Geschichte, die einer unserer bekanntesten Dichter in der "Abendzeitung" besungen hat.

All the editors maintain a discreet silence on the question of the identity of this "einer unserer bekanntesten Dichter," and it would be difficult to pick him out from the list of the contributors to the *Abendzeitung* as given by Goedeke VIII,

⁷The version of 1782 shows an acquaintance with the later text in "Sie wenden schnell ihr funkelnd Auge weg," where the version of 1771 has *dämmerndfunkelnd*. For the latter as a translation of *green, sparkling* compare the rendering of *lift their green heads by ihr dunkles Haupt erheben* in the version of 1782.

⁸Engelbrecht (1764), Wittenberg (1764), Anonymous (Bremen, 1766), Rhode (1st ed. 1800; 2nd ed. 1817-18), Jung (1808), Schubart (1st ed. 1808; 2nd ed. 1824) de la Perière (1817-19). See Tombo, *op. cit.* [Since the above was written the 1st ed. of Schubart and the 2d ed. of Rhode have been examined, in both cases with negative result.]

28. It now appears¹ that Theodor Hell, one of the two editors of this journal, is meant. The poem appeared in Nos. 216 and 217 (September 8 and 9, 1824) and is entitled: *Der Ilsestein und Westenberg im Ilseenthale*. The form *Westenberg* is doubtless a slip on Heine's part. Gottschalck's *Taschenbuch für Reisende in den Harz*, from which Heine quotes the passage immediately preceding the above, likewise has *Westenberg*.

III.

Elster III, 20-21, has the following paragraph:

Hinter Nordheim wird es schon gebirgig und hier und da treten schöne Anhöhen hervor. Auf dem Wege traf ich meistens Krämer, die nach der Braunschweiger Messe zogen, auch einen Schwarm Frauenzimmer, deren jede ein grosses, fast häuserhohes, mit weissem Leinen überzogenes Behältnis auf dem Rücken trug. Darin sassen allerlei eingefangene Singvögel, die beständig piepsten und zwitscherten, während ihre Trägerinnen lustig dahinhüpften und schwatzten. Mir kam es gar närrisch vor, wie so ein Vogel den andern zu Markte trägt.

The passage is interesting from the point of view of the "Dichtung und Wahrheit" of the *Harzreise*. It can be conclusively shown that these lines owe their existence to the author's desire to give an effective setting to the jest "wie so ein Vogel den andern zu Markte trägt." The present autumn-fair at Brunswick is a "Laurentiusmesse," *i. e.*, it begins on Thursday of the week of August 10. That such was also the case in Heine's day may be seen from the article "Braunschweig" in Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, the date of the volume in question being 1823. Now Heine's foot-tour, as is well known, was made during the month of September.² Presum-

¹My informant is Archivrat Eduard Jacobs at Weirigrode.

²In this connection Professor Wood calls my attention to the fact that the entire nature-setting of the *Harzreise* is distinctly that of the spring, not the autumn. In the same category of fiction may perhaps be placed Heine's interpretation of "doppelte Poesie" (*Elster* III, 25), as compared with the authentic explanation (*Elster* III, 9). While this latter is actually turned to account elsewhere (*Elster* III, 53), the real cause of the perversion is doubtless to be sought in the fact that the "Schneidergesell" is

ably the rather clever observation was made on some other occasion, held in reserve and worked in as soon a favorable opportunity presented itself.

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Studies in English Syntax. By C. ALPHONSO SMITH . . . Boston: Ginn & Co., [1906]. 8vo, pp. 92.

Of the three studies contained in this book the first two have been published before,¹ but are now revised and augmented. The third, entitled 'The Position of Words as a Factor in English Syntax,' appears now for the first time. In originality and suggestiveness it is a fitting counterpart to the first two in continuing the author's method of interpreting syntax. His point of view may be inferred from his confession in the preface, that since he regards syntax as "the autobiography of language, he believes more in weighing than in counting, and less in tabulation than in correlation."

In the first chapter Dr. Smith, with abundant wealth of illustration, fortifies his conviction that "there are literary effects both subtle and far-reaching that find expression in none of the tradi-

throughout conceived in a vein of caricature. To show that the "Osterode Dream" (Elster III, 21-23) is also not to be looked upon as an actuality, it is only necessary to call attention to its symbolic value: the Göttingen *studiosus juris*, turning aside from the "Tollhauslärm" of legal quibbles, takes sanctuary with the god and goddess that typify eternal beauty, i. e., once more views the world through the eyes of a poet. The typical character of the close of this dream may be brought out by comparing it with the *Nachwort zum Romanzero*, Elster I, 487: Nur mit Mühe schleppte ich mich bis zum Louvre, und ich brach fast zusammen, als ich in den erhabenen Saal trat, wo die hochgebenedeite Göttin der Schönheit, Unsere liebe Frau von Milo, auf ihrem Postamente steht. Zu ihren Füßen lag ich lange und ich weinte so heftig, dass sich dessen ein Stein erbarmen musste. Auch schaute die Göttin mitleidig auf mich herab, doch zugleich so trostlos als wollte sie sagen: siehst du denn nicht, dass ich keine Arme habe und also nicht helfen kann?

¹ Chapter I, on 'Interpretative Syntax,' appeared originally in *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n of America*, xv; chapter II, on 'The Short Circuit in English Syntax,' was published in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xix.

tional canons of rhetoric or literary criticism, but in the phenomena of syntax and of syntax alone." Aptness in illustration proves of good service when, after interpreting what he calls 'the syntax of omission,' he proceeds to distinguish in terms of syntax between imagination and fancy, asserting that imagination is shown in a writer's choice of subjects and predicates, fancy in his choice of adjectives and adverbs. Plausibility is given to this seemingly far-fetched theory by appealing to Browning, Tennyson, Swinburne, and Shakespeare, who corroborate it in their unconscious practise. The significance of this deduction is realized only when its application to English literature is made in this suggestive generalization: "The difference between the literature of Elizabeth's reign and the literature produced by the Caroline and Metaphysical poets who followed, is that in the first a full and splendid stream of imaginative thought flows from subject to predicate; in the second this current is diverted and dissipated among adjectives and adverbs: what should have been tributaries have become bayous, and drain rather than swell the central flow."

It is in the second chapter on 'The Short Circuit in English Syntax' that one, while admitting in the main the justness of Dr. Smith's reasoning, feels prompted to differ with him on points of detail. For instance, he writes (p. 33): "Take, for example, the clumsy periphrastic tenses, *I am studying, I was studying, I shall be studying*, instead of the older and more compact *I study, I studied, I shall study*. The difference in meaning hardly seems to justify the existence of the periphrastic forms." On the contrary, this very difference is a valuable asset of the English in comparison with other modern languages. The gain in definiteness caused by the choice between *He dines at the hotel* and *He is dining at the hotel* is sufficient justification for the existence of both. After all the strictures laid upon Professor Münch, one feels that his contention that the English more than any other language tends toward definiteness, brevity, and directness is a useful induction and a valuable comment on the characteristics of English-speaking people. It is true that the importance of Professor Münch's citations is not to be estimated by their number, yet they gain in value because of their variety.

Dr. Smith's development of his fundamental thesis that syntactical relations do not span wide spaces in English is thoroughgoing and conclusive. His constructively cumulative method again leads him to adduce numerous corroborative citations, happily chosen from a wide range of English literature. In the paragraph on the influence of distance on the concord of subject and predicate in such Northern phrases as *ye mak and bindis*, Dr. Smith concludes with the felicitous conceit, "The *is* ending is the alimony that the pronoun demands of the predicate for maintenance during separation." However in this very phrase the alimony of the *is* ending is demanded and obtained not by the masculine subject but by the feminine predicate.

In the third chapter the author traces the genesis of the so-called 'retained object,' *I was given a book*, from the passive *Mē was gegiefen ān bōc* (= 'To me was given a book'), in which the Old English pronominal dative retained the pre-verbal position of the active voice. "Thus *Me*," he writes, "by retaining its position in front of the verb, came to be the first word in the sentence; that is, it occupied the normal position of the subject. Once in the initial position the dative could not resist the subjectifying influences of its environment." By recalling such analogies as the relation of *I think* to *methinks*, Dr. Smith establishes historically a justification of this 'preposterous locution,' *I was given a book*, which, he points out, is included in the 'Don't' column of many of our best journals. The 'subjectifying influence of the pre-verbal position' is further shown by *Who did you see?* now the usual construction in colloquial English.

After considering the 'objectifying influence of the post-verbal position,' illustrated by *Woe is me* for the older *I am wo* and *Shall's* (= *Shall us*) instead of *Shall we*, Dr. Smith advances to the explanation of the idiom, *It is me*. He discovers four stages of evolution: (1) *Ic hit eom* (to 1300 A. D.); (2) *It am I* (1300 to 1400); (3) *It is I* (1400 to 1500); (4) *It is me* (1500 to 1600). Rejecting the theory of Lounsbury that this last stage is due to an imitation of the French *c'est moi*; of Einkenel that emphasis has caused the predominance of *It is me* over *It is I*; of Jespersen that similarity in sound with *we, ye, he, she*,

caused the use of the accusative *me, thee*; Dr. Smith rightly sees in the choice of *me* a testimony to the objectifying influence of the post-verbal position. In this explanation he is in accord with the last view of Sweet (*New English Grammar*, § 1085), which is quoted in a footnote: "When a pronoun follows a verb, it generally stands in the objective relation; hence, on the analogy of *He saw me, Tell me*, etc., the literary *It is I* is made into *It is me* in the spoken language."

The introduction to the third chapter contains several trenchant illustrations of popular errors in construing English syntax. The line in the hymn, 'The Banner of the Cross' (p. 63), should read "For Christ count everything but *loss*" instead of *lost*, a mistake repeated two lines below.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

A POSSIBLE LOWELL ORIGIN.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The first two stanzas of one of Lowell's best-known poems, *In the Twilight*, have a remarkable parallel in a passage in *The Story of Ali Nouredin and the Frank King's Daughter* in *The Thousand and One Nights*, tr. Payne, vol. VIII, pp. 63-80. There are few traces of oriental influence in Lowell, if by the oriental we mean the sensuous, though he has treated several oriental subjects. It is impossible to trace between these two passages any very convincing similarity of phrase, but the similarity of thought is, it will be seen, very marked. I recall that there are a few other passages in various authors where this same idea is touched upon, but nowhere, so far as I know, has it been so elaborately developed as in the two passages here compared. I italicise the passages most similar.

In the Twilight.

Men say the sullen instrument
That, from the Master's bow,
With songs of joy or woe,

Feels music's soul through every fibre sent,
 Whispers the ravished strings
 More than he knew or meant;
Old summers in its memory glow;
The secrets of the wind it sings;
It hears the April-loosened springs;
And mixes with its mood
All it dreamed when it stood
In the murmurous pine-wood,
 Long ago!

The magical moonlight then
 Steeped every bough and cone;
 The roar of the brook in the glen
 Came dim from the distance blown;
 The winds through its glooms sang low,
 And it swayed to and fro,
 With delight as it stood
 In the wonderful wood,
 Long ago.

"Then she uncovered her wrist, and laying the lute in her lap, bent over it, as the mother bends over her child, and swept the strings with the tips of her fingers, whereupon it moaned and resounded and yearned after its former habitations; and it remembered the waters that gave it to drink, whilst yet in the tree, and the earth whence it sprang and wherein it grew up, and the carpenters who cut it and the polishers who polished it, and the merchants who exported it and the ships that carried it; and it cried out and wailed and lamented; and it was as if she questioned it of all these things, and it answered her.

Whilom I was a tree wherein the nightingales did nest;
 Whilst green my head, I swayed for them my longing and unrest.
 They made melodious moan on me, and I their plaining learnt;
 And so my secret was by this lament made manifest.
 The woodman felled me to the earth, though guiltless of offense
 And wrought of me a slender lute, by singer's hands carest;
 But when their fingers sweep my strings,
 They tell that I am slain,
 One with duress among'st mankind afflicted and oppressed."

If this was the source of Lowell's stanzas, it will be conceded that it was not bettered under his hands.

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A GREEK SOURCE FOR *Comus* 30.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The lines from *Comus* (27–32),

but this Ile
 The greatest and the best of all the main
 He quarters to his blu-hair'd deities
And all this tract that fronts the falling Sun
 A noble peer of mickle trust and power
 Has in his charge,

but especially the line underscored, have a parallel in Aesch. *Supp.* 254–5,

Καὶ πᾶσαν αἶαν ἥς δὲ ἀγνὸς ἔρχεται
 Στρυμῶν, τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου, κρατῶ.

And all the land through which clear Strymon goes,
 That toward the setting sun, I rule.

It seems improbable that this similarity has not been noted before, but I do not find it in any of the annotated editions.

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A REPLY.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In Mr. Onions's review of my *Studies in English Syntax*, published in *Englische Studien*, xxxvii, 217–220, certain statements are made to which I wish briefly to reply. It is understood that I do not charge Mr. Onions with purposely misrepresenting my views.

1. Mr. Onions says: "Professor Smith maintains, and rightly, that there is too much 'counting' in the syntactical research of to-day, and too little weighing, but he unfortunately makes this an excuse for ceasing to count altogether."

By no means. My little book, even in the preface, makes it perfectly clear that I believe in counting. No day goes by that I do not collect and record syntactical *data*. But counting is only a means to an end. The *data* collected must serve as the basis of constructive generalization. I cannot better express my own views than by a citation from Darwin. On December 21, 1859, he wrote to J. D. Hooker as follows¹: "It is an old and firm conviction of mine that the Naturalists who accumulate facts and make many partial generalizations are the *real* benefactors of science. Those who merely accumulate facts I cannot very much respect."

2. "The peculiarities in nearly all the Biblical examples that he quotes," says Mr. Onions, "can be traced to the originals."

This makes no difference. The language of the Authorized Version of the Bible has a unity and consistency of its own. The translators were not slavish copyists. They made English idiom supreme. They adopted the Hebrew or Greek idiom only when in their judgment such idiom was in accord with the genius of their own language, the English. The sentences that I cite from the Bible are characteristic not only of the

¹ *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, edited by his son, vol. II, p. 21.

King James Version but of the English language of that time. In his *Advanced English Syntax*,² p. 77, Mr. Onions quotes one of these same sentences (*Luke* 13:25) to illustrate a former use of the English language, and says not a word about the Greek original. The sentence is: "I know you not whence ye are." Though an exact translation of the Greek, this sentence is nevertheless good Elizabethan English.

3. On p. 29 of my *Studies*, I say: "A man does not call his wife Miss Mary (or Mrs. Jenkins)."

Mr. Onions finds this a dark saying: "This," says he, "is very puzzling. . . . No man either speaks of or addresses his wife as 'Miss' anything."

I leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

4. Of a certain idiom I say on p. 42: "It has not, however, entirely fallen into disuse. It may be heard in *I had rather stay than to go with you* and similar sentences." The point to be observed in this sentence is that *to* is of course omitted immediately after *had rather* but emerges before *go*. I did not defend the idiom, but declared that it had survived to the present time.

"Such a sentence," says Mr. Onions, "is possibly ordinary North-Carolinense, but it is not English."

Is it possible that Mr. Onions does not read or hear read the English Bible? The following sentences are submitted for his consideration, only Modern English examples being cited:

(1) "I had rather die than *to* tarrie upon the same" (Nicholas Lichfield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc., 1582, fol. 40 v.).

(2) "Brutus had rather be a villager
Than *to* repute himself a son of Rome."
(*Julius Caesar*, 1, 2, 172.)

(3) "By heaven, I had rather coin my heart,
And drop my blood for drachmas, than *to* wring
From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash."
(*Julius Caesar*, 4, 3, 72.)

(4) "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than *to* dwell in the tents of wickedness forever." (*Psalms* 84:10. No change is made in the Revised Version of 1884.)

(5) "The Israelites had better have wanted their quailles, than *to* have eaten them with such sauce." (Bishop Joseph Hall, *Works*, ed. 1648, p. 45.)

(6) "There is not a man amongst them who had not rather be killed and eaten, than so much as *to* open his mouth." (Charles Cotton, *Translation of Montaigne's Essays*, 1700, chap. xxiv, p. 137.)

(7) "I had rather oppose prejudices, than *to* contend against facts." (Philip Withers, D. D., *Aristarchus*, ed. 1822, p. 197.)

(8) "I would rather be defeated with this ex-

pression in the speech," and have it held up and discussed before the people, than *to* be victorious without it." (Abraham Lincoln in Morse's *Life of Lincoln*, vol. 1, p. 117. See also Shurter's *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, 1906, p. 132.)

(9) "Rutherford B. Hayes, when this war commenced, did not say with Tilden, 'I never will contribute to the prosecution of this war.' But he did say this: 'I would go into this war if I knew I would be killed in the course of it, rather than *to* live through it and *to* take no part in it.'" (Robert G. Ingersoll, *The Situation*, an address delivered in Chicago, October 21, 1876. See Ingersoll's *Great Speeches*, edited by J. B. McClure, Chicago, 1898, p. 172.)

(10) "I had rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than *to* see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Catiline conspired and Cæsar fought." (Henry W. Grady⁴ in Shurter's *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, 1906, p. 229.)

4. Mr. Onions's attack on my discussion of *Wo is me* is prompted by his conviction that *wo* could not be used as an adjective in Middle English. In his *Advanced English Syntax*, p. 91, he says: "The form of the phrase (*I am woe for 't, woe are we*) seems to demand that *woe* should be taken as an adjective; but this is, of course, impossible."

It is impossible only to him who is unfamiliar with the Middle English history of the idiom. Mr. Mark H. Liddell, Associate Editor of the *Globe* Chaucer, in his discussion of *Wo was his cook*,⁵ says and says rightly: "This, and such phrases as *wo is me*, show the original dative construction. But all feeling for it was lost in M. E., and in Chaucer we have *wo* used as an adjective."

Mr. Onions asserts also that I consider *I am wo* as the original form of the phrase. This is not my view, nor has it ever been.

5. Mr. Onions complains of my "elaborate treatment of the processes by which *Ic hit eom* became *It is I*—which are so well known that they might have been dispatched in a single page."

On the contrary, these processes are not so well known as they ought to be. In his *Advanced English Syntax*, p. 34, Mr. Onions commits a serious blunder in his first remark about *It is I*. "In Old English," he says, "this sentence had the form *Ic eom hit*." If Mr. Onions has even an elementary knowledge of the language of King Alfred, he must know that *Ic eom hit* does not occur in Old English.

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³ The reference is to the famous "Divided House" Speech, delivered in Springfield, Illinois, April 17, 1858.

⁴ The sentence is taken from Grady's address on *The Race Problem in the South*, delivered in Boston, Dec., 1889.

⁵ See his edition of Chaucer's *Prologue, Knightes Tale, and the Nonne Preestes Tale*, 1901, p. 148.

² I quote from the edition of 1904, the only one known to me.

NOTE ON *Christabel*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The following extract from *Anecdotes and Traditions Illustrative of Early English History and Literature*, edited by W. J. Thoms, Camden Society, 1839, p. 100, is of interest as apparently throwing light upon the behavior of the bitch in *Christabel*. The extract was transcribed by Thoms from Lansdowne MS. No. 231, containing materials collected by the antiquarian Aubrey for a contemplated work on popular superstitions, *Remains of Gentilism and Judaism*:

CLXIX.—SPAID BITCH.

I believe all over England a Spaid Bitch is accounted wholesome in a house; that is to say they have a strong belief that it *keeps away evil spirits* from haunting of a house. Amongst many other instances, in Dorset, about 1686, a house was haunted and two tenants successively left the house for that reason; a third came and brought his spaid bitch and was never troubled.

Aubrey, 130 v°.

The italics are apparently Aubrey's.

W. STRUNK, JR.

THE *Phoenix* AND THE *Guthlac*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In a communication to *Mod. Lang. Notes*, December, 1907, page 263, Hubert G. Shearin offers some "recently noted parallels" between the *Phoenix* and the *Guthlac*. Kindly permit me to call attention to the fact that, on page 27 of my pamphlet on *Old English Poetical Motives derived from the Doctrine of Sin*, published in 1903, the same verbal correspondences between the two poems are pointed out. In fact, I gave (pages 23–28) a somewhat extended analysis and comparison of the poems treating the "Fall of Man" motive, embracing under the "homiletical group" not only *Phoenix* 393–423 and *Guthlac B* 791–850, 947 s., 953–969, but also *Christ and Satan* 410–421, 478–488, *Juliana* 494–505, and, especially, *Christ* 1380–1419. I am pleased, of course, to see that another also has found, at least in part, the parallels I pointed out.

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PEGASUS AS THE POET'S STEED.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In many of our best books of reference—English, French and German—we are told that the conception of Pegasus as the "poet's steed" is found first in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*. So, for example, in recent instalments of Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* and the Oxford *New English Dictionary*. This bit of traditional information seems to come, through the old edition of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* (1848) or Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie* (1840), from a statement printed in the *Neuer deutscher Mercur*, in 1796. The original statement of 1796 neglected to add any definite reference to canto and stanza, and it is perhaps significant that out of all the people who have glibly repeated it since no one has happened to supply this little detail. I have read that endless—literally, endless—Italian poem, and I am almost prepared to say that it contains no allusion whatever to the "poet's steed." Nor is it easy to find this fancy in either of the *Rifacimenti*, by Berni and Domenichi. I am encouraged in my skepticism by the experience of Dr. F. Hannig, who says in his exhaustive treatise, *De Pegaso*, that he too has been unable to find the passage which was alluded to in the *Neuer deutscher Mercur*: "Poetarum equus hac demum aetate Pegasus factus est. Quam vim primum Boiardium quodam loco carminis quod Orlando Innamorato inscribitur, Pegaso subiecisse Lenzius dicit. Talem tamen locum cum invenire non potuerim, is quem Lenzius sequitur, in errore versari videtur" (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen*, volume VIII, pt. iv, p. 131). Moreover, Dr. W. Tappert's careful study of Boiardo's poetical imagery fails to record any such fancy about Pegasus (*Bilder und Vergleiche aus dem Orlando Innamorato*, etc., Marburg, 1886). Certainly, the next writer who repeats our time-honored statement should add a definite reference to canto and verse. Dr. Hannig is probably right in rejecting the traditional reference to Boiardo, but his "hac demum aetate" seems to make the fancy altogether too modern. It is certainly as old as the fifteenth century, and probably older. I happen to have found it lately in a quotation from a poem of the year 1497, Juan del Enzina's *Tragedia trovada á la dolorosa muerte del príncipe Don Juan*:

Despierta, despierta tus fuerzas, Pegaso,
Tú que llevabas á Belerofonte;
Llévame á ver aquel alto monte,
Muéstrame el agua mejor del Parnaso, etc.

See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. VII, p. xlii.

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